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W H I T E - H A L L

APRIL 1801.

IMPARTIAL HISTORY

OF THE

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD
AFFAIRS of IRELAND

DURING

THE TWO LAST YEARS.

W. BRIDGEMAN.

WHITE-HALL,

APRIL 30. 1691.

LET this be Printed by Order of
the Right Honourable the Lord
Viscount *SYDNEY*, one of Their Ma-
jesties Principal Secretaries of State.

W. BRIDGEMAN.

A TRUE and IMPARTIAL
HISTORY

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The Most Material Occurrences

Will. IN THE *Gossip.* 1744.

Kingdom of Ireland

DURING

The Two Last YEARS.

WITH

The Present State of Both ARMIES.

PUBLISHED

To prevent Mistakes, and to give the World a Prospect
of the future Success of Their MAJESTIES
Arms in That NATION.

Written by an Eye-witness to the most Remarkable
PASSAGES.

LONDON:

Printed for *Ric. Chiswell*, at the *Rose and Crown* in
St. Paul's Church-yard. MDCXCI.

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TO
The RIGHT HONOURABLE
CHARLES,
LORD VISCOUNT MORPETH;
AND
The RIGHT WORSHIPFUL
S'WILLIAM LEVISON GOWER; Bar^r.
Both MEMBERS
Of the Honourable House of Commons:
These PAPERS
About the *AFFAIRS of IRELAND,*
ARE
HUMBLY DEDICATED.

At

THE

TO

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

CHARLES

LORD VISCOUNT MORTON

AND

THE RIGHT WORTHY

WILLIAM LENISON GOWEN

MEMBERS

OF THE Honourable House of Commons

These Papers

About the AFFAIRS of IRELAND

ARE

HUMBLY DEDICATED

THE

AS

P R E A C E

T H E

P R E F A C E.

THese Papers were not designed to be published, till after the surrender of the City of Mons to the French; for since there are some, and those too calling themselves Protestants, who upon all occasions make it their business, to advance the Conquests of that King, and at the same time to lessen the Conduct and Success of His Present Majesty; representing his Affairs to be in such a Condition at Home, and his Army so inconsiderable in Ireland, that they presently from thence expect such a Turn of State, as, if it should happen, would certainly prove unfortunate and destructive to themselves, as well as other people; tho they have no mind, or at least do not seem to see it. I do not pretend (nor do I think it possible) to make such men sensible of the folly of their unaccountable Behaviour at this Juncture; only I think it a good Opportunity, to let Them and the World know the impartial Truth of the most material Passages of the Two last Campaigns in Ireland, with the true State of both Armies, as it stood in January last; which possibly, may serve to mortifie all their Expectations from their Friends in that Kingdom. And as to the Matters of Fact, I desire all the Enemies of our Government and Religion to contradict me; tho at the same time, I assure them, That I have done their Side all the Right that the thing it self will bear, and have concealed nothing that I think could make any way for their Advantage.

But before I come to this, I will take the liberty to speak out, since I am to treat of an Affair that concerns all that value either the publick Safety, Honour or Peace of their Native Country; it being every day more apparent than other, that we are designed as a Prey to that Nation, to whom we nor our Fathers were never yet in Bondage. This is no vain and groundless Fear or Pretention, but the Reasons for it are many: Amongst the rest, take only these few.

First, The Late King, by his unhappy Management, has given up the Cudgels to the French (whom it's not to be doubted, he had rather should govern the Nation, than those who at present do) by this means placing his

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own Interest; and that of all English Protestants, in a diametrical opposition to one another; since it's plain, that unfortunate Prince has been made instrumental (and is so still) by the Zealots of the Church of Rome, to advance their Religion, on the one hand; and by his most Christian Majesty on the other, to promote his Glory. All the Care and Pains that has been taken of late by the Priests, in a Business of the greatest moment, was, not to propagate King James's Family, but his and their own Religion; for they value not tho He and His Name perish, if their Work go on: And (suppose the P. of W. really what our Adversaries would have him) who can ever imagine that a Successor, that there was so much pains taken about, will either be bred a Protestant, or made serviceable to that Interest; especially, since he is taken out of the Kingdom, and put into the hands of the greatest Enemy to our Nation? And as to the French King's part, can any one think, that he does all this out of a Principle of Honour and Love, for the re-establishing of King James? All people know, that his Generosity extends no further than his Interest: Those that will not believe this, let them only look back upon his treatment of the same individual Prince some years ago; for it's plain, that he has no other Prospect nor regard to Men and Things, but his own Greatness and Ambition; not sparing even those of his own Perswasion, when they stand in his way: Every one sees, that his Brother of Constantinople and he, agree much better than his Holy Father at Rome and he ever did, or are like to do; because the former is more favourable to his Designs than the other. If then he falls out with him, whom his own Religion obliges to pay all Deference and Respect to, and honour as a Father; what can Protestants, nay even English Papists themselves expect, but to submit to his Will, if they once give way for his Admission? When the Late King appear'd all on a sudden last Summer in France, after the Defeat at the Boyn, it was observable, that tho the French King was surprized at his Presence, yet he received him with all the seeming joy in the World; thinking it not fit to discourage a Prince, whom he had still further occasion for. This has already been seen into by some great Officers; even in the Irish Army; who begin to be at a stand how to manage, since they can have no other Prospect from the success of their own present Affairs, but future Ruin to their Countrey.

Secondly, Suppose the War already ended, and the Late King sent into England, with all the Grandeur that France could afford him, and received here by the consent of every Body: Yet the French King has a very large Bill to bring in, which he'll certainly pretend cannot be discharged without the Possession of Ireland; what then can be more rationally intended, than that one day or other, England may be brought to a severe account for those

vast

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just Expences, and the non-repayment of them shall be a sufficient Pretence for a War, when he finds an Opportunity, the King James himself sate at the Helm? For how easy a thing it is to break all Rules whatever, when a man has the Power in his own hand, is known to most men. Those then who favour him most, will only have the honour to be last devoured; and even those of his own Persuasion, will have cause to wish themselves, rather under a Protestant Prince, than a Popish Tyrant: We see further, that His Present Majesty has not declared it a War of Religion, but is linked in a Confederacy with a great many Princes of the Romish Church, that have all the same reason to dread the growing-Power of France, who neither spares Protestant when he has an opportunity, nor a Papist when he can gain by it. And yet if we look narrowly into the thing, the present War of Ireland is both more difficult and expensive for him to support, than it is for England, both as to the distance of place, and multiplicity of other Diversions; for tho he's a great Prince, yet his Power is not without limits.

Thirdly, It neither was, nor is the Interest of Their present Majesties only that we are struggling for, but under them for the Liberties of England, and that against the most dangerous Enemy that our Nation ever had: this most men think themselves obliged to do, tho the King's natural Life should end to morrow (which God forbid, since for his own sake all that have had the honour to be Eye-witnesses of those Noble and Heroick Personal Actions of His Majesty, in pursuance of what he so generously undertook at first, dare, and will serve him even to death it self, what he pleases to command them) for the Quarrel is not, Whether the Late King, or the Present, shall Rule in England? but whether the French King shall have our Country, or we keep it to our selves? Neither is it only the King and Queen's Quarrel that we spend so much Treasure in, and lose those Men (as is frequently objected) but it's the King that makes himself a Drudge for ours (if I may so express it) running all Hazards, and suffering all Hardships possible upon that Account. He was a Rich and Great Prince before, and wanted neither Glory nor Power to have lived happy and magnificent; nor is it likely he had any Design to provide for his Posterity in what he did, since we are as yet deprived of so great a Blessing. And whatever may be called unnatural in this War, is for the Father of his Country to endeavour the depriving both his Natural and Legal Children of what God and Nature have made them Heirs to.

Fourthly, King James might have been one of the greatest and happiest Princes in Europe, notwithstanding his Religion; and the Roman-Catholics enjoyed the same Privilege as to the exercise of theirs; that other Dissenters do at this day; if that would but have pleased them; but it was an odd

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thing to all men of thought, that the hundredth part of a Nation, (as the Papists are no more at best) should think to bring all the rest over to their Side, and that against both their Humours and Interests; but it is now plain, that the Affairs of England and Rome cannot be reconciled. And I would fain ask any Protestant, Whether in King James's time he would not have been willing with all his heart to have been secured from the approaching Danger? Or whether he thinks it possible this could have been done more easily, or more to the satisfaction of the Nation in general, than it was? But this is the mischief of it, we all would be out of harm's way, but then every man must do it as he himself thinks fit, or else it all stands for nothing. If King William had made his entry through a Sea of Blood, this had pleased some People better, and made others more afraid; the easiness of the thing was the greatest Providence in it; and yet by our fickle Factions Humours we begin to make it both more expensive and hazardous; but let us take heed, lest if we tread in the Steps of our Forefathers in Divisions and homebred Farrings, we also run the same fate in being subject to a Nation of Foreigners; and yet it is to be feared, that the real ground of some Peoples Discontents, is not, that they at first disliked the Present Government, but that they were disappointed in their hopes of some Preferment that they thought themselves best deserved: and yet, God be thanked, I cannot see any great Injury that those People can do to the Present Establishment, since the King, Parliament and People are all of a side; and as for the Malecontents, they are neither Popular nor Considerable.

There is a Story in Josephus something parallel to our Case; that was, "The Jews were commonly very strict in the observance of the Sabbath; and amongst other Tenets of that nature, they held it unlawful so much as to defend themselves, tho' attack'd by the Enemy on that Day; this their Enemies came to the knowledge of, and put them upon the trial, cutting a great many to pieces; which made the rest grant that it was lawful to stand upon their own defence, but not to press upon the Enemy; and they met with a second Disadvantage upon that score; but finding to their Cost the folly of such Conceits, it came at last to this, That when they were undertaken a third time out of hopes of like success; they not only defended themselves, but defeated their Adversaries most effectually. This Story I apply thus: That notwithstanding of late we have mixt Matters of Religion and Policy too much, and advanced the Arbitrary Power of Princes, by stretching the Doctrine of Passive Obedience beyond its due limits; yet let not our Adversaries believe that we want either Hearts or Hands to oppose a Foreign or Unlimited Power, and that too without either departing from the Principles of Religion, or so much as wavering in our Profession. Let those then then that

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that will, be fond of the Garlick and Onions of Egypt; for my own part, I cannot see how we can make one step backwards without the danger of being poisoned by them: For certainly there are several Questions now in hand not to be resolved by the Rules of our Church, but by our Legal Constitution, which in some Cases binds the Ecclesiastical it self. And for all that specious Objection which some People make, That our Laws, as well as our Religion, are against the Deposing Doctrine; Yet it will endure no serious thought, That God has made so many Millions of People to be subject to the Humour or Interest of any one particular Man. For whatever has been said to the contrary of late, it's both agreeable to the Principles of Reason and Religion, that *Salus populi suprema Lex*. Government no doubt is *Jure Divino*, of which if we were destitute, nil sane brutis amantibus præstaremur (says Melancthon); but then it's not necessary to have it terminated in this or that Individual; for tho' it's an undoubted Truth, that any private person had better suffer Injuries, than hazard the publick Peace of his Country, by endeavouring to redress the same; and it cannot be lawful for every one to fly in the face of Authority, when he's injured, or at least thinks himself so; yet neither the Laws of Nature, Reason, or Religion, oblige us to sit still, and see the Fundamental Constitutions of our Country overturned, without any endeavour of ours to obstruct it: And tho' there may be danger in endeavouring to stem such a Tide, yet I may go further, and say, That those People do not deserve good Laws, but rather are the Betrayers of them, that dare not stand up in their just defence. We know that the Apostle bids us submit to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake, and that there is no Power but of God; but he doth not tell us, that either Tyranny, Slavery, or Oppression, are from God, but that we may resist them for his sake, as well our own; and certainly if the usurping an absolute Power above, and against all Laws, be not Tyranny, the seizing mens Freeholds, contrary to all Justice and Equity, be not Oppression; and the making ones Will the Law, in a Government which the wisest of men call Limited, be not reducing people into Slavery, I know not what such things mean. For in such a case, it is not the Law of a Country that deposes a Prince, nor the Religion that justifies it, but 'tis his own Act and Deed; for if the presenting to the People be but a Ceremony; yet, a Coronation Oath is due; and if a Prince can raise what Storms he pleases in his Dominions, without endangering his own Vessel at the same time, then such consequences must unavoidably follow, as make all other people actually his Slaves, not Subjects; but sure the greatest Privilege of an English man is to have the Law on his side, and his Religion by that Law made a part of his Property, which is a Blessing that few other Nations can boast of; and one main Reason why this has been continued so long to us, whilst other people groan under

Measures of
Obedience.

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the Yoke of Arbitrary Power, is, Because we have the Sea between us and any Foreign Enemy, and consequently no pretence for a standing Army, in times of peace, to defend our Frontiers against any sudden Invasion. An Army, no doubt, in times of peace, being the next step to Slavery: To say nothing of Inconveniencies by this means brought into private Families, and the general Encouragement it gives to all sorts of Vice. So that upon the whole matter, one should think, that none would be fond of King James, or his Government: unless they resolve at the same time, with the Burgers of Mons, to receive the French Garisons, and afterward become their eternal Slaves.

As to what I have said in the following Account of the Affairs of Ireland, I can affirm it to be true in the main, tho possibly I may be mistaken in some Circumstances: Nor do I pretend to write a complete History of the War; That I leave to men of better Judgments, and more happy Opportunities; so that if this prove not advantageous, yet I hope it will produce what may, by involving some more useful hand to undertake the work, nothing of this kind being as yet abroad, except some little Pamphlets writ at random, by those, that (it seems) never saw that Nation. I have not writ the least Sentence out of prejudice to any man; but if any have affected the Profit more than the Duty of their Employments, and think themselves hinted at, in some general Expressions, I have only this to say, That as I would not flatter, so I am not of such a temper, as to fear any man, so far as to prevent me from speaking Truth: nor can I (as I hope) be blamed by any but those, who, having done ill themselves, take it not well to be told of it: But let even those examine their own Actions impartially, and they'll find I have been as sparing in my Expressions as I well could, and not conceal the matter of Fact, which a great many know the truth of, as well or better than my self; and I am far from doing any man that injustice, as to charge him directly with a Crime, that I am not very well assured is due to him.

What I have said about the management of the Irish Army, is not barely our own Accounts, but what I got from several of their Officers, either Prisoners, or Deserters, or by other Opportunities, as design or chance brought me to them.

I pretend no importunity of Friends for the publishing of these Papers; for I am not so vain as to think they deserve it: However, I hope they will satisfy some, who have not yet had opportunities to know these things; and if this Account may be any way serviceable to them, I shall be glad of it; if not, they must e'en have patience till a better appear. As to the mixing some small matter of History with the rest, I did it because it pleased a particular Friend, tho my time will not allow me to do it in such a Method and Stile as the Dignity of the Subject requires.

1

AN IMPARTIAL HISTORY OF THE Affairs of Ireland.



IN the Year 1660. when the Legal Administration of Government both in Church and State was restored with *K. Charles II.* never was there any People more happy than the *English*; not only secure from all Foreign Invasions by the Situation of our Country, and from all Oppression at home by its Laws; but the Temple of *Janus* was then shut, and we enjoyed an universal Peace with all the World.

And yet Prosperity in a few years becoming a Burthen to us, we took an occasion to quarrel with our Neighbours of *Holland*, which several Wise men did then, and have since lookt upon, to be industriously begun and fomented by Cunning and Designing Persons of a different Interest and Persuasion, to weaken the *Protestant Interest* in Europe. Those unhappy Breaches however were made up, and open'd again; and then a good Understanding secur'd a second time, to the satisfaction of all that meant honestly.

England an happy Kingdom at the Restauration.

This disturb'd by designing Persons.

The King was a man that lov'd to be easie, and please himself; by whose Example a great part of the Nation became in a small time of the same temper, and the natural Hardness of the *English* was to a great degree softened: this was chearfully observ'd by our Neighbouring Monarch, who fail'd not to encourage our King in his way of living, by contributing to his satisfaction in whatsoever he had a mind to be delighted withal; and in the mean time gave encouragement to our Ship-Carpenters and Seamen; both to build him Ships, and sail in them; and no wonder, for they had no business at home. About fifteen or sixteen years ago the *French King* sent a great part of his Fleet to the relief of *Messina*, and some other places in *Sicily*, which some then lookt upon as a Blemish in his Politicks; and yet it appears since, that this was none of the least depths of them; for by this, and such like means, he has got now a good Fleet, and expert Sea-men.

The Methods the French King took to Advance his own Interest.

But

The D. of
York's mana-
ging.

But whilst these things were on foot abroad, the Duke of York had a Considerable Game to play at home: For tho it's more than probable he was a Papist all along; yet to amuse the People, he comes to Church; and considering that the Popish Party in England was by much the least of Three, things were so well managed on that Side, as to make the Protestants fall foul upon one another, not only with hard Names and Characters of Reproach, but in other Actions that seem'd more severe; by which means the Interest of both Parties was not only considerably weakned, but that of the Papists incredibly strengthned: Then what by the dexterous management of the Presbyterian Plot, and some improvements made of that by the *Observer*; by which the Popish Party obtain'd a great Reputation, (and people begun to think that the Devil was not so black as he is painted) in the height of which, when (they say) some measures were thought of to reduce the D. of York and his Favourites, King Charles died.

King James
proclaimed.

The Duke of York was proclaimed King by the universal consent of all People, and afterwards as generously assisted in the *West*, as the Circumstances of the Nation would allow: But then when the Parliament came to address his Majesty, and beseech him, That for the satisfaction of the Nation, the Popish Officers and others might be removed from Places of Trust, and have competent Pensions allowed them; he gave a very positive Answer, which was, in effect, That they were his best Friends, and he would not be without them. After this, things grew every day worse than others; for then all mens eyes were opened, and every body could discern the Storm approaching. Accordingly the Rain came, and beat violently upon the House, but it being founded upon a Rock, thanks be to God, has stood. And as God often brings Light out of Darkness, and can by ways unthought of, or not look'd into by men, turn things contrary to what they design or intend them; so in the midst of our Necessities, he rais'd up an Instrument, who, by his Virtue and Wisdom contrived, and by his Valour put our Deliverance in execution. How prosperously this succeeded in England, is known to all the World; for besides the natural Inclination of the people to Variety, their general aversion to Popery made the thing at that Juncture very easy, tho the Prince was then in a manner a Stranger to the Nation in general.

Ruines his
own Interest.

P. of Orange
comes.

The State of
Ireland at that
time.

But tho all things succeeded so happily for the Protestant Interest in England; yet there was a Cloud in Ireland that seem'd to threaten

us,

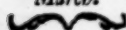
us, if due care was not taken in time to disperse it. My Lord Tyrconnel, during the Late King's Reign, had been framing and modelling an *Irish Army*, that might be ready to serve the *Papish Interest* on all occasions, part of which was sent over into *England*, some time before the Prince Landed; and after his being proclaimed King, my Lord Tyrconnel (having still a considerable Body of men in Arms) refuses to deliver up the Sword. Some say that it was not demanded from him; and more, That he had been easily forced to it at first; or at least, there might have been a Method taken to have persuaded him. But the management of this was entrusted to Major General *Hambleton*, a profest *Papist*; and so well did my Lord Tyrconnell and he, with some other, play their Cards, that they got *Hambleton* sent over, against the advice of most that understood the Affairs of that Kingdom; by which means Succours were delayed, and *Hambleton*, as soon as he was safe in *Ireland*, was so far from persuading my Lord Tyrconnell to yield, that he ordered all the Hor-
Lieut. Gener.
Hambleton sent
over.

ses that were left in Protestant hands, and fit for Service, to be seiz'd for the Late King's use, and treated those whom he believed King *William's* best Friends, at *Dublin*, very harshly; for which Service he was made Lieutenant-General of the *Irish Army*.
 But the Affairs of *England* did not admit of present Succours to be sent to the Protestants in *Ireland*, who now were groaning under several Afflictions; for a great part of the old Army was disbanded, or sent into *Holland*, the *Dutch* were sent home, and it's thought, some unseasonable Disputes and Heats about Matters of Religion, did no small disservice to the Publick. There was also a hot Report about that time at *London* (and indeed all over *England*) that King *James* was dead; which Report was only spread abroad by his own Party; and several other such little Artifices were used, on purpose to make others more secure; for shortly after we had a certain Account, that he landed from *France* at *Kingsale*, in the *West* of *Ireland*, having about 1800. men with him.
The State of
England at that
Juncture.

This was on the 12. of *March*, and after some small time he came to *Dublin*, where he was received with all the Demonstrations of joy imaginable, by my Lord Tyrconnell, and all the *Papish Party*, who look'd upon him as their only Support, Champion and Deliverer; so several of them have since changed their minds.

A little before this, the Protestants in *Ireland* were in daily expectation of Arms, Ammunition, Commissions, and some Forces from *England*; and it's more than probable, that if they had got them, or not
King James
lands in Ire-
land, March 12.
1689.
 hop'd

March.



Rout at Drumm-
more, March 14.

hop'd for them, the Business had cost neither so much Blood, or Treasure as since it has; yet some advis'd, not to make any shew of discontent, till they had an Opportunity, and were in a condition to make their party good, by the arrival of Succours from *England*: But the greater part, impatient of delays, begin to list Men, and with what Arms they could get, to make a shew of forming an Army. Against those in the *North*, Lieutenant-General *Hambleton* marched, with about One Thousand of the Standing Army, and nigh twice as many Rapparees, in a distinct Body; they met at *Drumm-more*, in the County of *Down*, and on the 14. of *March* the Protestants were routed with no great difficulty; and no wonder, for they were very indifferently provided with Arms, Ammunition and Commanders; nor was their Discipline any better: This was called afterwards, The *Break of Drumm-more*, (a Word common amongst the *Irish Scots* for a Rout). At the same rate were some others served shortly after, at a place called *Killeleigh*, under one *Hunter*, and those that resisted had the same Fate, at several other places. In the mean time Major-General *Macarty*, by the same measures, and some little Artifices, brought the Protestants of *Munster* under the same Circumstances.

This gave occasion to King *James* and my Lord *Tyrconnell*, to take the Arms and Horses from all the Protestants of that Kingdom, except those that fled to *Londonderry*, and some few that went towards *Iniskilling*; but a great many that could get away, for either *England* or *Scotland*, made what haste they could, and in some few Weeks after, those that went that way, were actually shut up in *Derry*.

On the 25th of *March* they had Arms and Ammunition brought them, by Captain *James Hambleton*; and all the World knows they behaved themselves very well.

April 13. Suc-
cours sent to
Derry.



Maj. General
Kirk in the
Lough.

On the 13th of *April*, Collonel *Richards*, and Collonel *Cunningham*, were sent to their relief, with two Regiments, who came into the *Lough*, but returned without doing any thing, and were broke for their pains.

Then went Major General *Kirk* with his own, Sir *John Hanmer's* and Brigadier *Stuart's* Regiments of Foot; the Winds were crofs, and the *Irish* fortified the River, that it was difficult to relieve the Town, and our Ships laid at least two Months in the *Lough*; the poor Soldiers, as well in Town as on Board, endured great hardships all this while: But the *Dartmouth* Frigate at length forced her way,

of the Affairs in Ireland.

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way, and the Siege was raised on the last of July. Some condemn the *Irish* Politicks mightily in sitting down before this Town, whenas if they had let it alone, the people would either have submitted of themselves, or however, they had been at leisure to have sent a part of their Army into *Scotland*; which was an easy thing, as then, to do, and would, no doubt, have hindered any Succours going over that year from *England*; but Providence orders all things, and rules the Actions, and disposes of the Councils of men accordingly.

July.
July 31. Siege
Raised.

The day before the Siege of *Derry* was raised, the *Iniskilliners* Mackarty taken Prisoner. hearing of a Body of about Six Thousand of the *Irish* Army, Commanded by Major General Mackarty, that was marching towards them; they very boldly and bravely met them nigh twenty miles from the Town of *Iniskillin*, and at a place call'd *Newtowne Butler*, fought, and routed them, taking Mackarty Prisoner, killing and drowning nigh Three Thousand, there being of the *Iniskillin-men* in all, both Horse and Foot, not above Two thousand; losing not above Twenty, and having about Fifty wounded. This Story seem'd to me at first very Incredible; but I was told, it partly hapned by a Fatal Mistake in the Word of Command amongst the *Irish*; for the *Iniskillin-men* charged the *Irish* Right Wing very smartly, which Mackarty perceiving, ordered some of his Men to face to the Right, and march to relieve their Friends; the Officer that received the Orders, mistook, and commanded the men, instead of facing to the Right, to face to the Right about, and so march; the *Irish* in the Rear seeing their Front look with their Faces towards them, and move, thought they had been running, and so without more ado, threw down their own Arms, and run away; the rest seeing their men run in the Rear, run after them for company, and were most of them cut off, or drowned in Bogs and Loughs; so unhappy may a small thing prove to a great Body of men: and at other times a little thing in appearance, proves very advantageous: For we read of a *Roman* at plough, who stood with his Ox-yoke in a Gap, and stopt the Soldiers that were running away; this made them face about, and win the Field; though, I believe, in that Action of the *Iniskilliners*, as well as *Derry*, there was a great deal due to their Valour, and more to the Providence of God.

During these Transactions in *Ireland*, the King gives out Commissions in *England* to raise 18 Regiments of Foot, and four or five of Horse for the Service of *Ireland*. Most of those had their Commissions dated the 8th of *March*, 1687, and the Levies went on with

July.

all imaginable speed; for greatest part of them were raised, armed and clothed in less than Six weeks. I was in the Armouries at the Tower when the Arms were to be delivered out to the new Levies, but there was not half so many there as would do it; for the Arms were most squandered away, or lost, in the late hurry of Affairs; and though several Proclamations were sent abroad to bring them in, yet His Majesty was forc'd to have most of his Arms out of Holland, which was both expensive and troublesome.

March to Chester.

This Army was mustered, and disciplin'd as well as the time would allow; My Lord *Devonshire* and the Hon^{ble} Mr. *Wharton* being appointed Commissioners to view them in their several Quarters; and in July most of them were commanded to *Chester*, in order to be ship'd for Ireland. I am a Stranger to the Reasons of State, why they went no sooner; yet, that that seems considerable to me, was, that my Lord *Dundee* had left the Convention at *Edenbrough*, raising a powerful Faction for the Late King, in the North of Scotland, and the Castle of *Edenbrough* was not as yet surrendered by the Duke of *Gordon*; it might not therefore be thought prudent, to part with an Army out of our own Kingdom, till the Danger were over from that Quarter; so that it was the beginning of *August* before our Army got to *Chester*.

August 8. Encamp at Neston, and then embarque.

Most of them encamp about a Week at *Neston*; and then on Thursday, the 8th of *August*, about Six a Clock in the Morning, His Grace Duke *Sconberg*, General of all Their Majesties Forces, Count *Solmes*, General of the Foot, and several great Officers more, with not Ten Thousand Foot and Horse, embarked at *Higblake*, for Ireland.

The Winds being cross, they lay on Board till Monday the 12th; when at Four a Clock in the morning, the Wind being S. S. E. and S. E. the *Bonaventure* Frigate (Captain *Hobson* Commander) fired a Gun, and put his Light in the Main Top-mast Shrouds, that being the Sign for sailing. There was also The *Amelope*, the *James* Galley, &c. The *Cleveland*, and the *Monmouth* Yats, with between 80 and 90 Vessels more, who all were under sail at Six a Clock; and at Eight the *Bonaventure* put out an Ensign in the Mizzen-shrouds for all the Captains and Masters to come on board; which done, they received Orders to sail directly to *Carigfergus-Bay* in Ireland: In case of bad weather, so that they could not reach thither, to sail for *Loureaux* in *Galloway* in Scotland; and if they fell short of that, *Ramsay Bay* in the *Iste of Man* to be the place of *Rendezvous*.

Tuesday

of the Affairs in Ireland.

7

Tuesday the 13th, at break of day, the greatest part of the Fleet was up with the Mountains of *Dundrum* in the County of *Down* (these are commonly called the Mountains of *Moorni*, and are said to be the highest in *Ireland*; on the top of one of the highest stood a famous Monastery in time of old.) About Three that Afternoon the Fleet came up the *Lough*, within a mile and a half of *Carisfergus*; at Four they came to an Anchor in *Bangor* Bay, and immediately the General ordered his Flag to be put out at the Yats Main-yard-Arm, that being the Sign for landing our men, which was done according; and they encamped that night in Fields adjoining to the Shoar, they lay upon their Arms all night, having frequent Alarms of the Enemies approach, but nothing extraordinary hapned; and yet if those of the Enemy that were in *Carisfergus*, *Belfast*, *Bangor*, and the Adjacent Garisons had attackt the Duke that night, it might have bred him no small disturbance.

August.

Land in *Ireland*, adjacent to the *Lough*.

Next day, being *Wednesday* the Fourteenth, the Duke continued still encamped, and the Garison of *Carisfergus*, apprehending a Siege, burnt their Suburbs: The day following, the Duke sent a Party of about Two Hundred and Fifty men, commanded by Sir *Charles Fiddings*, to see what posture the Enemy was in about *Belfast*; the Enemy was retired toward *Lisburn*; and Sir *Charles* with his Party returned to the Camp; and then the Duke sent Colonel *Wharton's* Regiment to take possession of the Place.

Garison of *Carisfergus* burn their Suburbs.

Friday the 16th. Lieutenant-Colonel *Caulfield*, of the Earl of *Drogheda's* Regiment, was sent with a Party of Three Hundred Men towards *Antrim*, who came there the next day, and found the Town deserted by the Enemy.

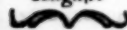
On *Saturday* the General marched with his Army to *Belfast*, from whence he sent out Parties, who took several of the *Irish* that were robbing and spoiling the Countrey: And *Tuesday* following being the 20th, five Regiments of Foot were sent towards *Carisfergus*, encamping before the Town, and next day seven more went, who almost surrounded it; after which, some Cannon and a Mortar were planted, and also small Entrenchments begun: The Town desired a Parley, and sent out Lieutenant *Gibbons* with Propositions in Writing: He presented them very submissively, and the Duke went into a Tent to read them; but when he found they desired time to send to the late King for Succours, or leave to surrender, he sent the Paper back, and ordered the Lieutenant to be gone; and then their Cannon playd directly at the Tent where he left the Duke, doing

The General marches to *Belfast*.

And then to *Carisfergus*.

The Duke's Tent.

August.

Batteries
planted.Batteries
planted.Batteries
planted.Coll. Richards
wounded.

some Damage thereabouts, but the Duke was gone abroad. Our Cannon were as ready as theirs, for we begun to play upon my Lord *Denegall's* House in the Town, on which the Enemy had planted two Guns, which disturbed our Camp. Before next Morning our Men drew their Trenches several Paces nearer the Wall, which occasioned very warm firing on both sides all Night: We lost some men, and had two Officers wounded; and a Drummer, that made his escape over the Wall, gave the Duke an Account, that there were about thirty killed in Town that Night.

on *Thursday*, The 22d, was employed in running the Trenches nearer, the Mortars and Cannon still playing upon the Town, and upon the Half-Moon, that was to the Right of the Castle: This Day came a Fleet of about Fifty Sail into the *Lough*, which brought over four Regiments of Foot, and one of Horse. The day and night were spent in smart firing, four Regiments of Foot mounting the Trenches.

Friday the 23d. the Besieged desired another Parly, and would have marched out with Bag and Baggage, Drums beating, and Colours flying, &c. But the Duke would allow no other Terms, but to make them Prisoners of War: During this Parly, the Duke visited all the Trenches, and observed the Walls of the Castle, and a poor Dutch-man was shot from the Walls, making his Returns to Reproaches against the Prince of *Orange*, our King, saying, That their King was a Tinker King, he had nothing but Brags-Money; he was not nimble enough at getting off, when the Parly was over, and so lost his Life for his Jest's sake. After this the Duke gave orders for the Engineers and Gunners to go on as vigorously as possible. Before we had only two Batteries, one on the Wind-Mill-Hill (with Mortars) before the Castle, Westward; the other of four Guns, against the North-gate. The Duke then ordered a very large Mortar to be placed close under the Walls, upon a New Battery, near the Lord *Denegall's* House (with two Small Guns) which did great Execution: This Night was spent in continual firing of great and small Shot, and next Morning the Town was all over smothered with Dust and Smoak occasioned by the Bombs; Collonel *Richards* was carried to *Belfast*, being wounded in the Trenches the Night before, and there was one Mr. *Spring* made his escape out of Town, who told the Duke, That all the Soldiers lay continually on the Walls, so that the Bombs only plagued the Protestants in Town; as also that *Mackarty Moor*, and *Owen Mackarty*, were the

the only two that hindered the Town to be surrendered; and that they resolved, if we stormed the Town, to retire all to the Castle, in order to which they had laid in great store of Corn, Beef, Salt, and other Provisions proportionable: He gave also an account, that they were straitned for Ammunition, having only at first 30 or 32 Barrels of Powder, with other things suitable. This Afternoon several of them were observed to be very busy on the top of the Castle; it was believed at first they were planting Guns there, but we understood afterwards, that they were pulling off the Lead to make Bullets.

Sunday the 25th. The Siege continued, and the Breaches were made wider, particularly one a little to the East, of the North-gate; creased. and yet the *Irish* were very industrious in making up at Night, what we beat down in the day.

Next morning our Guns plaid furiously, and the Breach (notwithstanding all their cunning) was increased; which the *Irish* seeing, and fearing that our Men would enter, they found out this Stratagem, (*viz.*) They got a great number of Cattel, and drove them all as near the top of the Breach as they could force them to go, keeping themselves close behind them; and this served in some measure to secure the Breach, for several of the Cattel were killed by our shot, and as they fell, the *Irish* threw Earth, Stones and Wood upon them; but this they thought would not hold long, and so they desired another Parly, which the Duke would not hear of, but ordered the Mortars and Cannon to play without ceasing, and the Men of War had orders to play their Guns from the Sea upon the Castle, which so terrified the *Irish*, that at Six a Clock next morning they put out their white Flag again, and sent their Proposals to the Duke, which at length he agreed to, having more business before him, and the Season of the Year beginning to alter. He gave them leave therefore to march out with their Arms and some Baggage, and they were to be conducted with a Guard to the next *Irish* Garrison, which then was Newry; Colonel Wharton at the Parley lay before the Breach with his Regiment, and was ready to enter, when the Duke sent to command his Men to forbear firing, which with some difficulty they agreed to, for they had a great mind to enter by force. When firing ceased on both Sides, several of our Officers went into Town, and were treated by the *Irish* with Wine, and other things in the Castle, and the Articles were scarce agreed to, till Mackarty Moor was in the Duke's Kitchen in the Camp,

Garrison surrendered.

which

August.

which the Duke smiled at, and did not invite him to Dinner; saying, If he had staid like a Soldier with his Men, he would have sent to him; but if he would go and eat with Servants in a Kitchen, let him be doing.

When we took possession of the Stores, the *Irish* had but one Barrel of Powder left, tho some say they threw several more into the Sea to save their Credit.

The *Irish*
march out.

On *Wednesday* the 28th of *August*, about Ten a Clock, the *Irish* marched out, and had Sir *William Russel*, a Captain in Collonel *Coy's* Regiment, with a Party of Horse, appointed for their Guard; but the Country people were so inveterate against them (remembering how they had served them some few days before) that they stript most part of the Women, and forced a great many Arms from the Men; and took it very ill that the Duke did not order them all to be put to Death, notwithstanding the Articles: But he knew better things; and so rude were the *Irish Scots*, that the Duke was forced to ride in among them; with his Pistol in his hand, to keep the *Irish* from being murdered. The poor *Irish* were forced to fly to the Soldiers for protection, else the Country people would certainly have used them most severely; so angry were they one at another, tho they live all in a Country. However, this was laid at the General's Door, by the great Officers in the *Irish* Army, and they would say, That he had lost his Honour, by engaging in so ill a Cause. The Governour of the Town was *Mackarty Moor*, but *Owen Mackarty* had a great Ascendent over both him and the Garrison. The Garrison consisted of two Regiments of Foot, lusty strong Fellows, but ill clad; and to give them their due they did not behave themselves ill in that Siege.

The number
of the Dead
on both sides.

They had about One Hundred and Fifty killed and wounded in Town, and we had near that number killed, and about Sixty wounded. The Town it self is not very strong, but the Castle is considerable; it stands upon a Rock, and has its Name from *Fergus*, the first King of *Scots*, who first brought the *Irish* into *Britain*, and was drowned in this Bay, (as *C Camden* tells you). However, it's one of the most important Places in the North of *Ireland*, and the taking of it gave an hopeful prospect of future success.

The General
returns to *Belfast*.

The Duke put Sir *Henry Inglesby's* Regiment into *Carrisburgh*, and on *Wednesday* the 28th, and the day following, the Army marched to *Belfast*, where they Encamped about a mile beyond the Town. On *Friday* Duke *Schomberg's* Regiment of *French Horse*, consisting

of the Affairs in Ireland.

II

sisting of 300 men, came to the Camp, and on *Saturday*, the last of *August*, the Army was mustered, being as follows; Horse, my Lord *Devonshire's* Regiment, my Lord *Delamere's*, Coll. *Coy*, Duke *Schonberg's*; and Coll. *Levison's* Dragoons. Foot; One Battalion of *Blew, Dutch*; *Carlesoon's* White, *Dutch*; Coll. *Beaumont*, Coll. *Wharton*, Lord *Drogheda*, Lord *Lisburn*, Lord *Meath*, Lord *Roscomon*, Lord *Love-lace*, Lord *Kingston*, Duke of *Norfolk*, Coll. *Herbert*, Sir *Edward Derring*, Sir *Thos. Gower*, Coll. *Earle*, *La Millionaire*, *Du Cambon*, *La Callimont*.

August.

Whilst the Duke staid at *Belfast*, there came a Letter to him by a Trumpet from the Duke of *Berwick*; but 'twas return'd un-open'd, because it was directed only, For Count *Schonberg*; the Duke saying, That his Master the King of *England* had honoured him with the Title of a *Duke*, and therefore the Letter was not to him. This is a piece of State that has been often practis'd amongst Great Men; for when King *Edward* the III^d. sat down before *Townay* in *France*, he sent to the *French* King, whom he saluted only by the name of *Philip* of *Valois*; challenging him to fight a single Combat to prevent Bloodshed, or with 100 men each; and if those methods did not please, then within ten days to join Battel with all their Forces near *Townay*: To which *Philip* made no direct Answer, alleging, That the Letters were not sent to him, The King of *France*, but barely to *Philip* of *Valois*; yet he brought his Army within sight of the *English*; and by the Mediation of King *Philip's* Mother, and two Cardinals, a Peace was concluded till the *Midsummer* following.

September 1.
A Letter sent from the D. of *Berwick*

But to return: Our Artillery-Horses were most of them as yet at *Chester*; and therefore the Duke gave Orders for greatest part of sent by Sea to the Train to be Shipt, and the Fleet to sail with those, and all Necessaries for the Army, to *Carlingford*-Bay, within Eight miles of *Dundalk*: And then on *Monday* the second of *September*, we marched beyond *Lisburn*; this is one of the prettiest In-land Towns in the North of *Ireland*, and one of the most *English*-like places in the Kingdom; the *Irish* name is *Lisnagarish*, which they tell me signifies the Gamesters-Mount; for a little to the North-East of the Town there is a Mount, moated about, and another to the South-West; these were formerly surrounded with a great Wood, and thither resorted all the *Irish* Out-laws, to play at Cards and Dice; one of the most considerable amongst them having lost all, even his Cloaths, went in a Passion, in the middle of the night, to the House of a Nobleman in that Countrey, who before had set a considerable

Our Train:
sent by Sea to:
Carlingford.

Sum

September.



Sum on his head; and in this mood he surrendred himself his Prisoner; which the other considering of, pardon'd him; and afterwards this Town was built, when the knot of these Rogues was broke; which was done chiefly by the help of this one man; the Town is so modern however, that *Camden* takes no notice of it.

-We Encamp
at *Drummore*.

On *Tuesday*, the 3d. we marched through *Hillsborough*, a place where the Enemy before our coming, had kept a Garison, near which, on the High-way side, were two of our men hanged for Deserting; that night we encampd at *Drummore* (the place where Lieutenant-General *Hamilton* routed the *Northern* Protestants); the Inhabitants had all or most of them left the Town; and there was not so much as a Sheep or a Cow to be seen; our small marching Train came up with us here from *Belfast*, and here the General had an account, That the Duke of *Berwick* was at *Newry*, with about 1700 Foot and Dragoons, and two Troops of Horse, designing to defend that Pass.

At *Lough Brit-*
land.

Wednesday the 4th, we march'd to *Loughbritland*, where we encamped in two Lines (as from the beginning) upon the side of a Hill, beyond the Town; the Inhabitants had deserted this place also, and what little Corn there was, some lay reapt and not bound up, and the rest was spoiled for want of management. As our Army was marching up, I went Three miles beyond the Camp, where I met with the *Iniskillin* Horse and Dragoons, whom the Duke had ordered to be an Advance-Guard to his Army. I wondred much to see their Horses and Equipage, hearing before, what Feats had been done by them; they were three Regiments in all, and most of the Troopers and Dragoons had their Waiting-men mounted upon *Garrons*, (those are small *Irish* Horses, but very hardy); some of them had Holsters, and others their Pistols hung at their Sword-Belts: they shewed me the Enemies Scouts upon a hill before us; I wisht them to go and beat them off, and they answered, With all their hearts, but they had Orders to go no further, than where they saw the Enemies Scouts; tho they seem'd to be dissatisfied with it; and added, *They should never thrive, so long as they were under Orders.*

Newry burnt.

And yet if those men had been allowed to go on in their old forward way, it's very probable they might have saved the Town of *Newry* from being burnt; for the Duke of *Berwick* was then in it; and a Troop of the Enemies Horse advanced that afternoon, some three miles from the Town towards us; but seeing the *Iniskilliners*, they retreated

treated in haste to the Town, only leaving some few Scouts to bring a further account of our motion. Those in the Town were startled at the news, and made ready to march off; but seeing no Enemy approach, they took time to set it on fire, and take all the people, with whatsoever was valuable, along with them: They went away about Sun-set, and next morning came to *Dundalk*, where we heard that some of their great Officers expressed themselves very melancholly, as if they had but small hopes to withstand the *English*.

The General not knowing that the Town of *Nenry* was burnt, nor that the Enemy had deserted the Pass, gave Orders for 70 men out of each Regiment of Foot, in all 1200, with a Party of Horse and Dragoons, and four Field-Pieces to be ready to march by three of the Clock in the morning; this Party was commanded by Coll. *Wharton*, and was designed to attack the Enemy, whom we expected at the end of the Town, there being an old Church, with several other convenient places, from whence they might prevent our marching; nor could we well go about, without a great deal of trouble, and several days march, and then we must leave the Enemy on our Rear, which was not to be done. The Party marched according to Orders, and the whole Army followed about Six of the Clock: But on our march, the Duke had an account by one Mr. *Humphreys* of *Belfast*, That the Enemy had retreated, and burnt the Town; the General then went forwards, and found the Flames not quite extinguished; and with Coll. *Levison's* Dragoons; and some of the *Iniskillin* Horse, he went at least two miles further, but nothing of an Enemy appearing, he returned, and gave Command for his Army to encamp a mile short of *Nenry*. The bad weather had disturb'd us before, but now the Rains and Wind were so extremely violent, that it was very difficult for us to pitch our Tents; so that every one was forced to shift for himself as well as he could; Provisions were also very scarce, for there wanted Horses to bring them after us. We encamp'd here next day also; from whence the Duke sent a Trumpet to the *Irish*, to let them know, That if they burnt any more Towns, he would give no Quarter. I went abroad into the Country, where I found all the Houses deserted for several miles; most of them that I observ'd, had Crosses on the inside, above the Doors; upon the Thatch, some made of the Native Wood; and others of Straw or Rushes; finely wrought; some Houses had more, and some less: I understood afterwards, that it

September.

We march to *Nenry*.

Customs of *Irish*.

September.



is the custom among the Native *Irish*, to set up a new Cross every *Corpus Christi* day; and so many years as they have lived in such a house, as many Crosses you may find; I asked a Reason for it, but the Custom was all they pretended to: Here the Corn also was either lying, and rotting on the ground, or else was shaken by the violent winds, for the People were all gone, the Protestants the *March* before, and the *Irish* now, at the retreating of their Army, some fled for fear, and those that had a mind to stay, were forced away by the Army, with all their Cattel, and whatever else was portable. In the Evening the Duke sent a Detachment of 520 Foot, with a Party of Horse and Dragoons (commanded by my Lord *Lisburn*) towards *Dundalk*; they got there the next morning, but found it forsaken by the Enemy, and not burnt; tho it had been better for us if it had, as it fell out afterwards.

There is an old square Tower, in *Newry*, which they call the Castle, this was left standing, and not above five or six Houses more; the Town it self had been a pretty place, and well built, standing upon a very advantageous Pass, the Tide coming up above the Bridge, by a Bay that comes from *Carlingford*. In this Castle the *Irish* had left some salt Beef and Herrings, but they were salted so very much after the *Irish* fashion, that the Soldiers, for all they were very hard put to it for Victuals, yet they could not eat them; (I believe the greatest reason was, a fond conceit they had got amongst them, that the meat was poisoned:) There was also a small Gun left in the Castle, and another Twelve-Pounder thrown over the Bridge into the River. In this Castle the General left Fifty men of Sir *Tho. Gowers* Regiment, commanded by Captain *Palliser*; and on *Saturday* the 7th of *September* the Army marched to *Dundalk*; in our way thither we found two Redoubts, nigh a place called the Four-mile-house; for *Marschal de Rose*, the French General, was at *Dundalk* some time before our Army approached, and enquiring whether the River was fordable, he found it was in several places; then he went on to *Newry*, and finding it a convenient Pass, he ordered it to be defended, at the same time commanding those Redoubts to be made, which if the Enemy had mann'd, they might have given us no small diversion; for there are vast Mountains on each hand, and a Bog between them, through which there was only a Causeway with a deep Ditch, and a small Stone Bridge above the middle of it; at the farther end of the Causeway, the Forts were placed a convenient distance one from another, from whence the

The Army
marched to
Dundalk.

the Irish might easily have retired, if we had forced the Pass; for neither could our Horse follow, nor knew our Foot how to tread the Bogs after them: This place was formerly very woody, and was fortified by O Neale, Earl of Tyrone, against Sir Charles Blunt, Lord Deputy, which he found great difficulty in passing; but next year he built a Fort some two miles nearer Dundalk, called Moyery Castle: The Countrey between Newry and Dundalk, is one of the wildest places of all Ireland, being the haunt some years ago, of the famous Tory, Redman O Hanlon, whose Ancestors were wont to brag that they were Standard-Bearers in times of old, to the Kings of Ulster.



We Encamp't about a mile on this side the Town of Dundalk, in a low moist Ground, having the Town, with the River, towards the West between us and the Enemy; the Sea towards the South, the Newry Mountains to the East, and toward the North were Hills and Bogs intermixt; the Protestants that were left there, told us, the Irish boasted when they went away, that they would drive us all back into the Sea again, or else we would die of our selves, the English not being used to the Field, especially in a strange Countrey, and at that time of the year. At our coming thither we got about 2000 of my Lord Bedlow's Sheep, which came in very good time to the Army, for it had gone hard with us before for want of Provisions; however Bread was so scarce, that the General gave Orders, that what there was, should be for the Men, and not for the Officers, (because he judged they could shift better.) It was also ordered the first night we came there, That an Officer, with a Party of men out of every Regiment, should go back and take up what men they met withal upon the Road sick, for several were beginning to faint already, by reason of the Bad weather, and constant marchings, and want of Provisions.

Our encamp-
ing there.

Gasper de Coligny, sometimes Admiral of France, and one of the most knowing Men of his time, was wont to say, That War is a great Monster, which begins to be formed by the Belly; meaning, that Food ought to be the very first care of a General for his Army; this Duke Sconberg knew as well as any one; and now (his Ships not being come) he takes part of his Train-horses to send for Bread.

On Sunday the Eighth, Major General Kirk's Regiment, Sir Jo. Hammer's, and Brigadier Sturge's join'd us; and that Afternoon we had a Report, that a Party of my Lord Delamere's Horse were sur-

Maj. General
Kirk joins the
Army.

See premer. rounded by the Enemy, but it proved false; for there were none of them within ten miles of us.

Rapparees
from whence.

Monday the 9th, The Soldiers had Orders not to stir out of the Camp on pain of death, for they straggled abroad and plundered those few People that were left, and some of them were murdered by the Rapparees; a word which we were strangers to till this time. Those are such of the *Irish* as are not of the Army, but the Country people armed in a kind of an hostile manner with Half-Pikes and Skeins, and some with Sythes, or Musquets. For the Priests the last three or four years past would not allow an *Irish man* to come to Mass, without he brought at least his Rapparee along; that they say in *Irish* signifies an Half-stick, or a Broken-beam, being like an Half-pike; from thence the Men themselves have got that name; and some call them *Creaghts*, from the little Huts they live in; these Huts they build so conveniently with Hurdles and long Turf, that they can remove them in Summer towards the Mountains, and bring them down to the Vallies in Winter. I went this Afternoon with some others to *Carlingford*; (this is a little Town on the Sea-side some eight miles backwards from *Dundalk*) there being an excellent Bay here, our Ships had orders at *Belfast* to sail thither; (there had been a small Town (and it was known in *Q. Elizabeth's* time by reason of a Defeat that Sir *Henry Dockwra* gave the *Irish*, not far from hence) but the *Irish* about the time they burnt *Newry*, burnt this also, only there stood five old Ruinous Castles upon the Shore, and a prodigious Mountain hung almost over these into the Sea.) Our business was to see if our Fleet was come, or at least in sight; but a small Fisher-boat was all the Fleet this place afforded at that time; nor had we any Ships there for several days after.

Late King's
Army at *Drogheda*.

By this time the General had an Account, that part of the late King's Army was at *Drogheda*, a considerable Town on the Sea-side, sixteen miles from *Dundalk*: one of the Enemies Engineers came over to us, who told the Duke, that the Enemy was drawing together as fast as they could; but that they could not make above 20000 well-armed men. You must know, that every body who knew Duke *Sconberg*, believed he would not come into *Ireland* without a good Army, and in all respects well provided, and fame had made our Army twice as many as they were: the *Irish* Army was likewise harrassed by being at *Derry*; and several of them, both Horse and Foot, were gone into the Country to Recruit; so that when we came first to *Dundalk*, they were in such disorder, that most of them retreated beyond

Drogheda;

September.



Drogheda; and I was told since by some of themselves, that they had not at that time above 8000 men in a Body: *Mareschal De Rose* was very much concerned at this, and he with some others, were for deserting *Drogheda* and *Dublin*, and retreating towards *Atblone* and *Limerick*, as they did this year: this my Lord *Tyrconnell* heard of, where he was sick at *Chapel-Izard*, and went immediately to *Drogheda*, where he told them, that he would have an Army there by the next Night of 20000 men, which accordingly proved true, for they came in from *Munster* on all hands. But when *De Rose* heard that *Duke Senberg* halted, he was sure (he said) that he wanted something, and therefore advised to make what haste they could to get their Army together; and a day or two after that, some part of their Army moved towards *Ardee*. (This is a small Town between *Drogheda* and *Dundalk*, where my Lord *More*, and Sir *Henry Titchburne* defeated a Party of the *Irish* in the late Rebellion): the People here are most of them Protestants, so that when the *Irish* retreated towards *Drogheda*, they expected the *English* Army, and therefore they provided great quantities of Ale, Bread, and other Provisions, for the Soldiers; but the *Irish* Army returning, it was all seized by them, several of the poor People stript, and some of them glad to save their lives by flying in the night to our Camp. Whether it was that the General did not expect the Enemy to advance towards us, or at least that they would not come to encamp so near us, or what other Reasons he had, I am not able to judge; but since it happen'd we stay'd there so long, in all appearance here was a good Opportunity lost in not sending to *Ardee* for all this Provision, as also in not getting in, or at least in not destroying the Forage between *Ardee* and *Dundalk*, for when the Enemy came, and late down by us, they got a great quantity of Forage between our Camp and theirs, and burnt a great deal afterwards before our Faces; but they say that was the first thing the General order'd, to cure all the Forage, or at least make it unserviceable to the Enemy.

They come to *Ardee*.

But to return to our own Camp. Monday the 9th, in the After-noon, Coll. Coy went out with a Party of 200 Horse to scour the Country, but met with none of the Enemy, for they were in a doubtful Condition what measures to take. The 10th, Little hapned of moment, only the General rid out to observe the Country; the Popish Chappel in Town was made a Store-house, and amongst other Papers of like nature, I found one that sometime before had been

Coll. Coy sent abroad with a Party.

September.



been given to the Priest, *To pray for the Soule of Brian Rhode.* The 11th, There came a Gentleman from the Enemy, who told the Duke, that their Numbers were not so great as was reported; and the Trumpet returned that was sent formerly to the Duke of *Berwick*, for they kept him on purpose for some days, that he might not give an Account of their Condition till their Army was got together.

Thursday the 12, it was given out in Orders, That Forage should be fetched from beyond the Town towards the Enemy, and that if any Soldier would thresh Corn, and bring it to the Commissary, he should be paid for it the full value: The Majors were ordered to see the Arms of their respective Regiments kept clean, and the Soldiers to leave off firing in the Camp, because that some unskilful Fellows had done mischief to our own men: That none of the Soldiers should Rob or Plunder the Country-people, and that there should be a Reserve-Guard appointed in every Regiment, consisting of a Captain, Lieutenant, Ensign, and fifty men, to be always ready to draw out upon all Occasions.

Bread
brought to
the Camp.

Friday the 13. Two Hundred and Four Load of Bread came to the Camp, and four Ships came to *Carlisle*; A Report was in the Camp, that our Horse, who went a foraging in the morning, were engaged with the Enemy, which occasioned the General to ride out, and all the Colonels that were in Town, were ordered to the Camp; but the Business was only this; A Party of the Enemies Horse appeared at a distance, whilst a Party of ours, and some of Colonel *Lewis*'s Dragoons were tying up their Forage, upon their Horses; our Men seeing the Enemy appear, threw down their Forage, drew up, and march'd to meet them; as our Men advanc'd, they drew back, till they were out of sight; when our Men had got up their Forage again, the Enemy appeared a second time, and so a third, till a greater Party of Horse went out: After this, the Duke always ordered a Party of One Hundred Horse to cover the Foragers whilst they were at work.

The Duke
goes to *Carlisle*,
but
few Ships as
yet arrived.

Next day the Duke went to *Carlisle*, longing to see the Fleet; but only four Ships were come, and those the night before; the Weather then was very tempestuous, and orders were given out how the men should receive their Bread; this was very good News to them, for it had been very scarce ever since we left *Belfast*; but to say truth, the Bread we had then, and during our stay at *Dundalk*, was full as good in its kind, as any we have had since. In the Evening

ning we had News, that the *Irish* Army was come as far as *Ardee*, and part of them to the Bridge of *Slane*, within three Miles of us; where they encamped, and where their whole Army staid afterwards for some time. This Evening it was given out in Orders, That none that went a foraging should pass the Horse Out-guards, and that the Horse might cut Wood for their Stables, and also the Foot for their conveniency; so that this was the first publick appearance of our staying here. Then the Report of the *Danes* coming was first spread abroad, and that we deferred meeting the Enemy upon that account; about this time also landed Collonel *Viller's* Regiment of Horse, having suffered much in a Storm, and lost one hundred and four Horses. In two or three days most of the Wood about Town, as also most of the Fruit-Trees in my Lord *Bedloe's* Orchard were cut down. And

September.

The *Irish* come and encamp at the Bridge of *Slane*.

News of the *Danes* coming.

Sunday the 15th, It was ordered that a Collonel should go the Rounds every night, and the Officer of the Guard to give him the Word. The Right Wing was to furnish Monsieur *Cambon*, Quarter-master-General with two hundred Men, to work at the Trenches at the West-end of the Town, next the Enemy, where we planted several Field-Pieces, and it was noteable for the Enemy to break in upon us that way; the Majors were ordered a pound of Powder for each Man, and to take care it should be delivered as there was occasion.

Our Entrenchments begun.

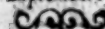
Monday the 16th, Six Hundred Men were ordered to work at the Trenches, which the Duke saw then convenient to draw round his Camp, since he had an Enemy that was too strong for him, very near, and therefore he must put it out of their power to force him to fight; for Wo be to that Army, which by an Enemy is made to fight against its will. And this is the Advantage of an Entrenched Camp; that none can compel you to give Battle but when you please. This Method has been practised very much of late, especially by the *Frenchs*; and yet it is no new thing, it being very much in use amongst the *Romans*; yet before the vanquished *Pirrhus*, King of the *Epirots*, they never used any Entrenchments, but lay in the open Fields; but having found that Princes Army entrenched, they liked it so well, that ever afterwards they practised it themselves.

But not to digress too far, a Battalion was ordered to march next night into the Trenches at the West-end of the Town (which was Major-General *Kirk's*) no Officers nor Soldiers were to stir out

A Battalion mounts to the Trenches.

of

September.



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The Gene-
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of the Camp; all the Collonels were to send for their Detachments that were abroad, except that at *Newry*. The Captain that commanded at *Bedloe's Town* (that was an House of my Lord *Bedloe's*, about half a mile to the North-West of *Dundalk*, where we had a Guard) if the Enemy appeared, was to march to the Camp through *Dundalk*, and that a Party of one hundred Foot lye by the Horse-Guard that Night. This day or the next came Collonel *Tiffin*, and the rest of the *Inishillin* Foot, and encamped towards the North-West of the Town, but within the Trenches on very safe Ground, as did also their Horse.

Our Brigadeers of Foot were Sir *Henry Bellafer*, Sir *John Hanver*, *Brigadeer Stuart*, and Mounfieur *La Millinere*; we had only one Brigadeer of Horse, who was Collonel *Villers*. Then the General gave the following Orders to be observed, and Detachments to be made out of all the four Brigades of Foot, as followeth, viz. One Brigade was to furnish all Ordinary and Extraordinary Guards for the day, with what little Detachments are to be made for that day; to which end the Brigade must furnish Officers and Soldiers, as followeth: For the Duke's own Guard, a Captain, Lieutenant, and Ensign with Colours, two Serjeants, two Drums, and Fifty Men; the Main-Guard in Town the like Numbers, and the Artillery-Guard as many; The Guard for Lieutenant-General *Douglas*, a Lieutenant, Serjeant, and Thirty Men; For Major-General *Kirk*, an Ensign, Serjeant, and Twenty Men; the Guard for the Treasury, a Serjeant and Twelve Men; in all, for the Ordinary Guards, three Captains, four Lieutenants, four Ensigns, nine Serjeants, eight Drums, and two hundred and twelve Men. Each Brigadeer had a Serjeant and twelve Men out of their own Brigade; and the Collonels, when they were quartered with their Regiments, had a Guard of six Men (*Colonel Solmes*, and Major-General *Sarvenmore* had Guards of their own *Dutch*). These were upon ordinary Duty: And then the Reserve-Guard, of Captain, Lieutenant, Ensign, and Fifty Men, out of each Regiment, was always to be ready, as well out of other Brigades, as that which had the Ordinary Guards for the day: the Brigade that had the Guards was always to have a Collonel ready in the Camp, as well to see the Detachments made, as to go the Grand Round, through the four Brigades at night. The Lieutenant Collonels and Majors were also ordered always to keep with their respective Regiments, that in case Detachments were to be made, every one might be ready in his turn to march. And the

Majors

of the Affairs in Ireland.

21

Majors of the respective Brigades were to attend every night at the General's Quarters for Orders. *September.*

Next day, and the day following, one hundred Men out of each Regiment were ordered to work in the Trenches, as also a Lieutenant and twenty Men, out of each Company, to fetch Straw and Wood to build Hutts; what sick Men were in the Camp, were sent to *Carlingford*; and now our Scouts and the Enemies stood usually within a quarter of a mile of each other: Some little Skirmishes happened, but they turn'd to no account on either side: The General went frequently abroad to view the Enemy, and ordered on *Thursday* that a Brigadier should go the Rounds at night, and see the Guards in the day.

Friday the 20th, In the morning we had an Account that the Enemy advanced towards us, and that a Party of two thousand Foot, and fifteen hundred Horse were gone beyond the Mountains, to attack the Pass at *Newry*, and fall upon us in the Rear; which had been no ill Project: but their Design was only to cut off our Foragers, and Straglers. About ten a Clock a Party of the Enemies Horse did appear in sight of our Camp, and they had several Battalions of Foot drawn up in order near their own; but upon the advancing of a Party of our Horse, theirs retired to their Main Body, which was too strong for us to meddle withal. The detached Party of the Enemy that we heard was gone beyond the Mountains, went to a place call'd the *Blackbank*, and hearing that my Lord *Henri*'s Regiment of Horse, and Sir *Henry Ingleby*'s Foot were marching to the Camp, and were in *Newry*, or hard by it that night (though they came not thither till the next) as also some *French* Detachments that the Duke had commanded in, lay in *Newry*, besides the usual Garrison of Fifty Men; they came no further that way, but struck off to the left towards *Sligo*; whenas its very probable, That if our Enemies had been all men of Resolution, they might have sent part of their Army in our Rear; and whilst we endeavour'd to oppose those, they might with the rest have forced our Camp, and destroy'd us; but Providence was our best Guard. We had sent several men sick to *Carlingford* by this time. I hapned to be there that day, and we had News that the Enemy had taken *Newry*, and were upon their march to *Carlingford*; this was not believed by us; but however, the *Irish* that remained there, thought it true: and 'twas very observable with what Joy the Little Boys, as well as the silly Old Women, received the News, running together,

September.

Great Rains.

The Irish
draw out
their Army,
and proffer
Battel.

ther, and whispering; nor was it possible for them to conceal their inward satisfaction. As I went to the Camp that Evening, I observed a small Party of Light Horse cross the Rode a little before me in great haste; and when I got about a mile further, I understood that they were a Party of the Irish that had killed five French men, and two Irishliners, as they were a foraging towards the Mountains. This Afternoon came the first of our Ships up to Dundalk, from Carlingford, with Ammunition and Provisions: In the Night the Rains were extremely violent, and both Horse and Foot had orders to forage towards Carlingford, for the Forage was destroy'd on the other side.

Saturday the 21st, About Nine a Clock in the Morning (it being a very clear sunshine-day) our Camp was alarmed; the Enemy display'd their Standard-Royal, and all drew out, both Horse and Foot, bringing along a very handsome Field-Train. A great Body of their Horse drew up to the South-West of the Town, about half a mile from our Out-works; the Duke went out to observe them, and sent for Collonel Beaumont's Regiment, into the Trenches beyond the Town, and about an hour after for Collonel Early. It was reported, that several great Officers were for fighting, and desired the Duke to send for the Horse home, who were most of them gone a foraging as far as Carlingford; but his Answer was, *Let them alone, we will see what they will do.* He received several fresh Accounts that the Enemy advanced, and always bid, *Let them alone.* A Body of their Foot came to the side of a Bogg, and fired upon a Party of our Horse, not far from the Duke; but they knew the Horse could not come at them; else, I suppose, they would scarce have come so near. Then our Gunners sent from the Works, to see if they might fire amongst the Enemy; who, by this time were within Cannon shot, but the Duke would not suffer it, except they came within Musquet-shot of our Trenches. He observed the Enemies motions and postures, and said, He saw no sign of their designing to fight; only once they drew their Army into two lines, as if they would, and then he sent Lieutenant-General Douglass to the Camp, to order all the Foot to stand to their Arms, and sent to the Horse, That upon the firing of three Pieces of Cannon, they should return to the Camp, but till then to go on with their Foraging. Mean time the Duke, as if there was no fear of danger for all this (for he used to say, That it was not in their power to make him fight but when he pleased) alight-
ed

of the Affairs in Ireland.

23

September.

1703

ed from his Horse, and sate him down upon a little Hill, where he seem'd to sleep for some time, though I believe his thoughts were at work how to repulse the Enemy, if they should attack him. Lieutenant-General *Douglas* came to the Camp, and all the Soldiers, with the greatest joy in the World, stood to their Arms; several that had not stirr'd out of their Tents for a Week before, now got up their Musquets, and all were glad to think that they had an opportunity of beating their Enemy (for they never supposed the contrary) and so to march forwards from that sad place, which they began already to be very weary of.

We stood looking upon one another for some time, and most people desired that they might march through the Town, and have a fair Tryal for it; but the Duke had no such thoughts, and therefore he did not so much as send for his Horse home; besides, he knew that the Enemy could not easily force our Camp without a great deal of hazard to themselves, and that he believed they would scarce be brought to. And therefore about two a Clock, when the Enemy began to draw off, the General sent orders for the Soldiers to return to their Tents. My Lord *Lisburne*, and Colonel *Woolsey* made some proffers to beat the Enemy back; or with one thousand men to beat up their Guards that night; but this was not so easy a Task as they made it; and the Duke refused it, considering if they did it, the Honour was theirs; but if they miscarried, the disadvantage was his. As the Enemy retired, a Party of Colonel *Levison's* Dragoons killed about four or five of them, and some of the *Iniskillin-men* stript themselves, and pursued the Enemy, killing two or three more, tho some of themselves fell in the attempt; but the Action of that day was very inconsiderable; for neither could they come at us, nor we go to them, without such disadvantages, as are to be well considered of in such cases: And that the General acted this day, as well as before and after, according to the Rules of Art and Prudence, and that too for the best, may partly appear towards the latter end of the Campaign. I had almost forgot to tell you, that the Late King was at the head of his Army that day, having come to the Camp some days before.

The Officers commanded to exercise their men.

The Orders were that Night, That none should forage, nor stir out of the Camp next day; and that the Brigades that did not mount the Guards, should be exercised at firing at a Mark when it was Fair weather (as 'twas very seldom) for the Duke knew most of his men had never been in service, and therefore he would have them taught as much as could be.

E 2 Next

September.
Part of the
Irish Army
remove.

A Plot disco-
ver'd.

Next day, being *Sunday*, we had news that the Enemy was removed towards *Drogheda*, and had burnt their Camp; this was partly true, for they removed some of their Army, and formed a Camp hard by *Ardee* to the East, nigh the side of a Bog. My Lord *Hewitt's* Horse, and Sir *Henry Inglesby's* Foot came this day to the Camp (the latter being relieved at *Carigfergus* by Collonel *Gustavus Hambleton* from *Chester*) and two French Granadeers were apprehended as they were going to the Enemy. But next Morning there was a further discovery made: And first, Four Soldiers and a Drummer, then Sixteen more apprehended; several Letters were found about some of those; as one to Monsieur *d'Avanx*, and, as they say, one to the Late King; those it seems were writ by one *Du Plessy*, who served as a private Soldier in *M. Cambon's* Regiment, and had for some time kept a Correspondence with the Enemy; Enquiry being made into the thing, about Two hundred men, all Papists, in *Callimot's*, *Cumbon's*, and *La. Millineir's* French Regiments, were secured, disarmed, and sent with a Guard on Shipboard, and so for *England*; but what became of them afterwards, I know not.

Monday morning the Enemy came and burnt all the Forage that was left between our Camp and theirs (the General would not send out a party for fear of an Ambuscade) and the Soldiers seemed to be pleased with it, because, they said, they could not get leave to fight them. The Weather for two or three days proved pretty fair, and the Soldiers were exercised with firing at Marks; but it was observable, that a great many of the new men who had Match-Locks, had so little skill in placing of their Matches true, that scarce one of them in four could fire their Pieces off; and those that did, thought they had done a feat if the Gun fired, never minding what they shot at.

Tuesday, Two Granadeers of Coll. *Beaumont's* Regiment were Hanged for deserting; and there was a Council of War designed between Major-General *Kirk* and Sir *Henry Inglesby*, about the business of *Derry*, the latter saying, That *Derry* might easily have been relieved much sooner; with a great deal more to that purpose; but it came to nothing, and was no more talk'd of.

On the 25th. the Army was Mustered, and several Regiments were grown pretty thin, by reason of the distempers then beginning to seize our Men.

Six Frenchmen
Hanged.

On the 26th. Six of the principal Conspirators amongst the
French

French were Hanged, upon a pair of Gallows built for that purpose near the High-way, as we went from the Camp to the Town; They all died *Papists*, and confessed their design to take over as many to King *James* as they could, and that this was their intentions when they first Lifted themselves; and that if we had engaged the Enemy the *Saturday* before, they were to have put our Army into Confusion by firing in the Rear, and so deserting. They prayed for King *William* and Queen *Mary*, and ask'd Their Pardons for their Treachery. *Du Plessy*, the chief of them, had been formerly a Captain of Horse in *France*, from whence, they say, he fled for a Murder; but hearing what Regiments were to be raised in *England*, he came thither under the notion of a poor Refugee; and for what Service he proposed to do the Late King, he both expected his Pardon from the King of *France*, and the Command of a Regiment in *Ireland*. He served as a Private Centinal, the better to carry on his design. He was certainly one that knew his business, and amongst other things, was a good Engineer; and the more to blind the World, he went often in the Trenches at *Carigfennis*; and being wounded, he would needs stay and encourage the Pioneers; so difficult it is to find the bottom of mens hearts, except by Chance, or rather Providence. The *French* before, were very insolent, which made them hated at all hands; but this Treachery of their Country-men made them so odious, that the Soldiers wanted only some body to begin, and then they were ready to punish all for the faults of some. Collonel *Woolsey* some time before this, had sent a Spy to *Dublin*, who had brought him a particular Account of all Affairs there; amongst other things, the *Irish* had great hopes of the *French* revolting to them; this he acquainted the Duke withal, but he would not believe it till it discovered itself; so good an opinion had he of those people, who for all this were not so grateful to him as they ought to have been.

Friday the 27th, We had News, That two days before, Collonel *Lloyd de* *Lloyd*, with about 1000 *Iniskilliners* had defeated a Body of the *Irish* that were going towards *Sligo* (consisting of about 5000), and had killed 700 of them, taken *O Kelly* their Commander, and 40 more Officers Prisoners, with a great booty of about 8000 Cattel, with the loss only of 14 Men; upon which News, the General ordered all the *Iniskillin* Horse and Foot that were in the Camp to Draw out, and Complemented them so far, as to Ride all along their Line with his Hat off; then he ordered the *Dutch-Guards*

Coll. *Lloyd de*
feats a Party
of the *Irish*.

September

Guards, and the *Inishkillin*-Foot to Draw into a Line to the Right of our Works, at the West-end of the Town; where they made three Running-fires, which were answered by the *Inishkillin*-Horse from their Camp, and by the Great Guns upon our Works, as also from our Ships that lay in the mouth of the River. The Enemy admired what all this rejoycing should be for, and were in some trouble at first, suspecting we had got some extraordinary News from *England*; or that there was an Army landed in the West of *Ireland* (which they themselves must have known before us); but when they understood the occasion, they were not much concerned.

The 28th, The Officers were acquainted it was the King's positive Orders, that the Soldiers should not be wringed in their Pay, nor neglected; and whosoever was careless of his Company, should be broke without Ceremony (that was, I suppose, without a Court Martial): Care was likewise commanded to be taken of the Sick, at *Carlingford*. An Officer was sent out of every Regiment, to look after them, and see them paid; but for all this, a great many of them died miserably; and several Officers did not take the care that was necessary; nor was there either Drugs; or indeed Chyrurgeons to look after the Sick. All Officers that had any Baggage on Shipboard, were commanded to take it off; because the Ships were said to go into *Scotland* for the *Danes*, though at that time they were in *Denmark*. All that were Papists in the Army, were commanded to discover it on pain of Death; there were very few found but amongst the *French*, who were put again under a Guard, and sent to *Carlingford*, there being the Afternoon before two more *French-men* taken, one who had a List of all the Army, and the Officers Names in most Regiments, as also a Scheme of our Camp; this was the occasion of the former Orders. And also that the next night it was ordered, That a List should be given in from every Regiment, of the Officers Names, and where they were, with the Names of those that were absent, and all those that had not received the Sacrament since they had their Commissions, were to prepare against the *Sunday* following (which was that day Seven night.)

Next day Lieutenant-General *Douglas* exercised the Regiments of the first Line, teaching them how to fire by platoons; and then made Speeches to them about their pay, which pleased the Soldiers mightily, but not so well the Officers.

About

All Papists
commanded
to discover
themselves.

About the first of *October*, there was a good quantity of Brandy delivered out to every Regiment; and Orders were again repeated, That the Officers should be careful of their men; the weather was then exceeding bad, and we who lay on wet, low, ground, had leave to remove our Tents a little higher, which we did, and after some time built our selves Huts according to former Orders.

October.

Brandy delivered to the Men.

And because the *French* were yet so forward as to go out, and either buy, or take the Provisions that were coming to the Market, then exacting from the *English* at least as much more as the thing was worth; this was the occasion why the *French* were put upon the Guard whenever they could not give a good account of themselves; upon which the General ordered that no *French* should be stopp'd any more than *English*; but that none should pass the Out-Guards after Sunset, nor buy any thing upon pain of death, till it come into Town to the open Market. And because it was observed, that several Country people went between our Camp and the Enemies, giving Intelligence of our Condition, it was ordered, That all Country-men that were stopp'd at or beyond the Out-Guards, and could not give a reasonable account of their business; they should be brought before the General.

Several of our Ships to the number of about 27, were now come to *Dundalk*, and anchored nigh the Shore to the South-west of the Town, but when the Tide was out, it was easie for the Enemy to come down on that side, and ruin them; therefore the General ordered a Guard of 1200 men to go on Ship-board, and to be relieved every 12 hours; he took all imaginable care likewise, that the Sick should be well lookt after; and that those that were well, should have Bread, Cheese, Brandy, Beef, Pease, and Money; as also, That an Officer of a Company should go out with a Party, and fetch in Fern for the Soldiers to lye upon; for a great many began now to be sick, by reason of the extreme bad weather; and most of them were so lazy, that they would starve rather than fetch Fern or any thing else, to keep themselves dry and clean withal; which certainly was the greatest occasion of Distempers, Sickness, and Death it self; and many of them when they were dead, were incredibly Loufie: This occasioned the General to say one day when he came to the Camp, and found that the Soldiers had not Hutt'd according to Orders, That we *English-men will Fight, but we do not love to work*, (for he used to call himself an *English-man*, for all he loved the *French* so well.) About this time there was a Captain and

Ships come to *Dundalk*.

October. Fifty men sent to *Moyry* Castle, some Two miles behind our Camp, as well to secure what Provisions were coming thither, as to keep the *Rapports* in view, and prevent our men that were going backwards and forwards, from being murdered, as several had been; for a day or two before this, I saw a poor Soldier lying towards the mountains, who had his Head cut off, and laid between his Legs, and one of his Arms likewise, which lay at a distance from him; so cruel are those Wretches, where they have an Opportunity or advantage.

The Irish Army removes to *Ardee*.

On the 1st of *October*, Coll. *Lloyd* possess himself of *James-town*, a small place near the *Shannon*, where the Enemy had a Garrison of 80 men, that they had sent thither a little time before; and on the 5th, we had news, That the Enemies Foot began to march at one o'clock in the morning, and their Horse followed in the Rear, burning their Camp at the Bridge of *Fane*, and removing to *Ardee*. We had also an account, That the Duke of *Berwick*, with a considerable Body of Horse, was gone towards *Iniskillin*, to rescue Major General *Mincarty*, upon which a Detachment of the *Iniskillin* Horse and Foot, Coll. *Ruffels* Horse, and Eight Grenadeers out of every Regiment, mounted on Horse-back, were sent (on the 8th) to keep a Pass between us and *Sligo*.

On the 9th, the General had an Account from one *Hempson*, and *Johnston*, with four more, (who came from *Dublin* in an open Boat on the 7th, and landed at *Carlingford*) That King *James* had given Orders to victual that place for his Winter-Quarters, and that the discourse was there of dividing the Army, in order to quit the Field, because they thought it was impossible for us to attempt any thing that Winter, as indeed it was: That night a Party of 100 Horse were sent out towards *Ardee*, but coming near an old Castle, where the Enemy had posted themselves, they fired upon our men, which occasioned some of the French Horse to retreat; but all the harm that was done, was, one of the Troopers had his Thigh bruised.

About this time there hapned a Quarrel between two French Officers belonging to Duke *Stenberg's* Regiment of Horse; they were afraid to fight nigh our Camp, lest the General should have notice of it, and so try them by a Court-martial; therefore they agreed to ride out towards the Enemies Camp, where they fought with Sword and Pistol; and being both wounded, they told at their return, that it was the Enemy had done it.

Both

October.

Both Forage and Firing grew now very scarce, and the Weather was mighty bad, so that Mr. *Shales* had Orders to deliver out two Tuns of Coals to each Regiment. About the 8th or 9th Sir *John Lanier's*, Colonel *Langston's* Horse, and Colonel *Hefford's* Dragoons, with Colonel *Hasting's* Foot, landed at *Carlingford* from *Scotland*. We had an account that there were more landed with them; and that when they joined us, we should march forwards: but now it was too late, and they did not come to the Camp, but were ordered to *Armagh*, *Clownish*, and Places thereabouts. The General gave Orders that no Colonel, or any one whatever, should give Passes for any to go from the Camp: and that the Officers should visit the Souldiers Tents night and morning, to see what they wanted.

The Sick order'd on Board.

On the 13th it was ordered, that all the Sick should be sent on Board; and that the Officers took care to see that those who were well should have Hutts made, and the Quarter-masters were ordered to fetch Shoes, Bread, Cheefe, Brandy and Coals. And all the Surgeons in the Army were appointed to meet Dr. *Lawrence* next day at 10 a Clock, to consult (I suppose) what Methods could be taken to prevent the Flux and Feaver, which then were very violent. The General, Count *Solmes*, Lieut. Gen. *Douglas*, Maj. Gen. *Kirk*, and M. G. *Scravenmore*, (or some of them) were out every day, either to observe the Enemy, or view our own Camp. And on the 15th we were told by three or four Deserters, that the Enemy had entrenched themselves at *Ardue*, and designed to continue there for some time; but the first was a Mistake, for it was the Town that they were fortifying whilst they lay there, that they might leave a Garison in it when the Army went off to Quarters. A Colonel was ordered to go the Rounds every night, and a Brigadier once in three nights. And we had at this time about 105 Ships at *Carlingford*, besides those at *Dundalk*.

Our Horse encamp at Carlingford.

The 16th all our Horse (except the French, the *Inniskillin*, and Col. *Levison's* Dragoons) march'd towards *Carlingford* for the conveniency of Forage: That day Capt. *Ralph Gore* was buried in *Dundalk-Church*; and the day following Col. *Deering*, (as had been several Officers before.) Sir *Edward* was very much lamented in the Army by all that knew him: He left a good Fortune in *England*, purely to serve the King in this Expedition, as did three more of his Brothers, one of which (*viz.*) Capt. *John Deering*

October.

died since at *Tandrogee*, being a very ingenious young Gentleman.

Four Priests Men
killed.

A Priest hanged
for a Spy.

On the 17th a Party of *Innikillin* Horse, and some of *Levisen's* Dragoons, were got so nigh the Enemy, that a Party of twenty Horse came behind them, thinking to keep a Pass, whilst others charged them in the Front; but our Men discovering their Error, faced about, and charged those in the Rear, whereof they killed four, and took six Prisoners. The same day a Priest was hanged, who came from the Enemy as a Defserter, but proved a Spy; he served then in station of a Captain. And to be even with us, they caught a Spy of ours some days after in Priests habit, and hanged him.

We remove our
Camp beyond
the Town.

The 20th Capt. *Withers* of Maj. Gen. *Kirk's* Regiment was made Adjutant-General of Foot; and next day it was again ordered that all our Sick should be sent on board at *Dundalk* and *Carlingford*; though those Orders were not executed till a fortnight after. However, we removed our Camps, some beyond the Town, and some towards the Artillery, leaving the Huts that we had made, full of sick Men. I know not the distinct number of the Sick in every Regiment at that time; but besides what were dead and gone to *Carlingford* before, as also some in the Town, we had 67 that were not able to march about twice twelve score to fresh ground, whom we put into those Huts, leaving the Surgeon with an Officer and twelve Men purposely to attend them: The Chaplain likewise went to see them once a day; but always at his going, found some dead. Those that were alive, seemed very sorry when the others were to be buried, not that they were dead, (for they were the hardest-hearted one to another in the World) but whilst they had them in their Huts, they either served to lay between them and the cold Wind, or at least were serviceable to sit or lie upon. And since the Enemy were now drawn off, the Guards were taken from the Ships, and from *Mortimer's* Castle, leaving only a Sergeant and twelve Men at the Gate that leads to *Bedloe's* Castle; and because some Companies were so thin, that there were scarce twelve healthful Men in them; it was therefore ordered, that every Company should do Duty according to strength.

Tuesday the 22d, great part of the Army were marched beyond the Town and encamp'd, some towards *Bedloe's* Castle, and some down towards the Shipping, in so much that those that

WERE

October.

*Dutch Prisoners
released by King
James.*

*A Trumpeter
comes about the
exchange of
Prisoners.*

went over were ordered to do Duty as three Brigades; and those that staid as one, the Chirurgeon of each Regiment was ordered to see the Sick on Board. An Officer was sent to take care of them, and was to call on Mr. *Shales* for Provisions: Every Officer was to see that none were sent on Board but what were really Sick, and this was recommended to the Colonels as well as to the Brigadiers. This Afternoon there came a Drummer from the Enemy about the Exchange of Prisoners. And three Dutch-men were taken as they were stragling in the Country, who being brought to King *James*, and ask'd, Who they belonged to? when he understood their Captain was the same that had the Care of him formerly at *Rockester*, he dismissed them, with his Service to their Captain, giving each of them some Money, because, he said, their Captain had been formerly civil to him.

The 23^d several sick Men having been sent on Board, and not Ships enough for the rest, Mr. *Shales* was ordered to bring more from *Carlingford*, and most of the Regiments went to encamp beyond the Town; I suppose the General was of Opinion the Ground whereon we lay was infected, or else he would not have removed us out of our Huts into our Tents again, especially in such boisterous Weather.

The 24th there was a Trumpeter sent also about the Exchange of Prisoners: And it was ordered that the Officers should give an Account of their effective Men, how many Sick, and where; as also of their spare Arms, and deliver them in to the Artillery, taking a Receipt for them; but what Arms were broke or lost, the Captains were to be accountable for; and it was but reasonable: nor did the Officers take that due care in this particular that was convenient; for if any Souldier is careless of his Arms, the Officer ought to punish him, by which the King will be both better served, and freed from that unnecessary Charge of supplying his Army anew every Year: but what with the Rain, and our own carelessness together, our Arms were often in that condition, that should the Enemy have attacked us on a sudden, we had scarce one Musquet in ten that was serviceable.

The 25th, 26th, 27th, all the rest of the Army removed through the Town, and encamp'd on fresh Ground; the Weather still continued very bad, and great Numbers, both of Officers and Souldiers, died. The General then gave Orders that no

October.
No Firings for
the Dead.

Firings should be for the Dead, because it encouraged the Enemy, who knew but too well our Condition, and yet could do us but little harm. Most People now began to murmur against the General, as if he had been the Cause of all their Misfortunes: but it is commonly a Fate incident to great Men, to be extremely magnified upon Success, and upon any notable Disaster to be as much reproach'd, and sometimes neither justly, for he himself shared in the trouble of this Affair, but could not in reason be made the cause of it.

On the 27th, about 12 a Clock at Night, 200 of Col. *Levisan's* Dragoons, a Party of *Inniskilliners*, and some French Horse, were sent towards the Enemies Camp, who went almost as far as *Ardee*, and brought back some Cattle and Horses, took only a Serjeant Prisoner, and had a Lieutenant killed.

Next Morning there was a Party of 80 Granadiers mounted and sent abroad, commanded by Lieut. *Laton*; but these returned with the above-said Party: and frequent Trumpets were sent to and fro about the Exchange of Prisoners. This Evening about nine a Clock, died Sir *Thomas Gower* of a Fever, as did also Col. *Wharton* next Morning, and were both buried on the 30th in one Vault, (where a in Fortnight before Sir *Edward Deering* was laid) the Regiments being joined, and fired three times by particular Order.

These two Gentlemen were very much bemoaned by the whole Army; Col. *Wharton* was a brisk bold Man, and had a Regiment that would have followed him any where, for they loved him, and this made him ready to push on upon all Occasions. Sir *Tho. Gower*, though he was but just in a manner entering upon the World, yet I believe few or none of his Age could out-do him; he was of a quick and ready Wit, as well as a solid Judgment, and made it his Business to know Men and Things; to this was joined a very good Education, together with a most sweet and affable Temper; being withal a Man of a comely and handsome Person, (as was also Col. *Wharton*) that it made him truly bemoaned by all that knew him. A day or two after died C. *Hungerford*, a very hopeful young Gentleman, and of a considerable Fortune; with several other Officers, and great numbers of Souldiers, (as I have said:) And many unthinking Mens Passions led them to censure the General as the occasion of all this. They would say, that if he had gone on at first, he might

might certainly have got *Dublin*, and what he did was only to protract the War, and that he cared not how many died, so he was well himself; but at best, that he was so old that he was not fit for Action, for if he had but rid out, he would forget in two or three hours that he had been abroad that Day. But all those were most false and ignorant Suggestions, as his Majesty was very sensible of at that time; and it appeared to all considering People to be so afterwards. For besides, prime Ministers are not to level their Proceedings to the Capacities of all who pretend Vigilancy and Care of the State, and no Man living in publick Employments can manage so as to have the good word of all People, neither indeed is it convenient or rational to endeavour or expect it.

On the last of *October*, all the Quarter-masters had Orders to go on Board with each ten Men, and see the Ships cleared to make room for the Sick, they were all to have Tickets from their Colonels, and the Brigadeers were ordered to visit them on Board: but if any were well enough to go to *Carlingford*, or the County of *Down*, they were to be taken care of; the Colonels, or Lieutenant-Colonels were to go with the Brigadier on Board, and every Adjutant was to give a List next Morning of their Sick to the Adjutant-General, which was a very large one.

Friday the First of *November*, greatest part of the Enemies Army Decamped, and marched to Quarters, and it was ordered that Night, that two Granadeers out of each English Regiment, and three out of every French, should be on Horse-back at the White-House early next Morning, to go out as a Party to observe the Enemy: the reason of this I suppose was, because the small number of Horse and Dragoons that were left in our Camp were almost harrassed to Death with continual Duty, the rest being nigh *Carlingford* at Grass, as has been said. All the Sick that were in any condition to March, were ordered to be at the Artillery by seven a Clock in the Morning; their Officers were to give them a Weeks Pay, and there was a Party appointed to conduct them to *Newry*.

Saturday the 2d, the Duke ordered the *Inniskilliners* both Horse and Foot to march towards Home, since News was brought to the Camp that *Sligo* and *James-Town* were taken by the *Irish*.

November.
The Enemy Decamp.

The Inniskilliners Decamp.

For

November. For *Sarsfield*, with a considerable Body, coming that way, those at *James-Town*, not thinking it tenable, quitted it, and marched to *Sligo*, losing some of their own Party, and killing some of the *Irish* who prest upon them in their Retreat. *Sarsfield* with his Army, next Day, came before *Sligo*, which made *Colonel Russell* retreat to *Ballishannon*, and he advised the Foot also to quit the Town. There was a French Captain, with the Detached Party of Granadeers that went from our Camp, and *Colonel Lloyd* with some *Inniskilliners*; these staid in the Town, and from thence retreated to the two Forts at the end of it, *Lloyd* into one, and the French-man with his Granadeers into the other. *Colonel Lloyd* went away that Night, and lost several of his Men in his Retreat: But the French Captain had carried in Provisions, and found three Barrels of Powder in the Fort. The Nights were dark, and he fearing the Enemy might make their Approaches to the Fort undiscovered, he got a great many Fir-Deals, and dipping the Ends of them in Tarr, they made such a Light, when set on Fire, and hung over the Wall, that he discovered the Enemy coming with an Engine they called *Sow*; but having killed the Engineer and two or three more, the rest retired, and he burnt the Engine. When Day appeared, the Enemy were forced to quit a small Field-piece they had planted in the Street, our Men plyed them so with Shot from the Fort; and then making a Sally several of them were killed. But their Provisions being gone, and there being little or no Water in the Fort, our Men surrendered it on the 3^d Day upon Honourable Terms, viz. to march out with their Arms and Baggage. At their coming over the Bridge, Col. *Sarsfield* stood with a Purse of Guineas, and proffered to every one that would serve King *James*, to give him Horse and Arms with Five Guineas Advance; but they all made answer, that they would never fight for the *Papishes* (as they called them) except one, who next Day after he had got Horse and Arms, and Gold, brought all off with him. So steadfast were the poor Men, in what they had undertaken, that tho they had indured a great deal of Hardship, yet would dye rather than be Faithless. There were several also that were taken Prisoners as they straggled from the Camp, or upon flying Parties; and tho they indured all the Miseries of a severe Restraint, yet they could by no means be wrought upon to take up Arms against the Interest they had come thither to venture their Lives for: Nay even those that

were

were a dying in the Camp were wont to exprefs no other Sorrow, than *Plague on thefe Papiſhes, that we muſt dye here and not have leave to go and fight them.* The French Captain's Name, as I remember, was *Monſieur de St. Sauveur*, he died afterwards at *Luburn* of a *Feaverr*. The Caſtle of *Sligo* is one of the moſt Ancient in *Ireland*, it was formerly the Seat of the *O Connors*, who would not for a great while yield to King *Henry the Second*, calling themſelves the Ancient Kings of *Ireland*.

But to return from this Digreſſion. On *Saturday* in the Evening it was ordered that a Colonel and a Brigadeer ſhould go the Rounds, and ſtay in the Camp all Night, to ſee the Guards all right, to enquire what Officers lay out of the Camp, and to acquaint the General with it; and becauſe they found there was abundance of ſick Men that neither could march, nor was there Room for them in the Ships, therefore Waggonſ were ordered to be ready at the Bridg-End next Morning to carry them all to *Carlingford* and *Newry*. The Colonels, Lieutenant-Colonels and Majors of each Regiment were ordered to be there, and ſee their ſick Men taken care of, and to give them Money; there was alſo an Officer out of each Regiment appointed with a Guard to attend them.

Next Morning the poor Men were brought down from all places towards the Bridg-End, and ſeveral of them died by the way, the reſt were put upon Waggonſ, which was the moſt Lamentable Sight in the World; for all the Rodes, from *Dundalk* to *Newry* and *Carlingford* were next day full of nothing but dead Men, who ever as the Waggonſ jolted, ſome of them died, and were thrown off as faſt. The General very ſeldom uſed to be from the Church, but that day he was for ſome hours at the Bridg-end; to ſee all the care taken for the Men that could be, and was very much diſpleaſed that all the Field-Officers were not ſo careful as he had given Command they ſhould. The Ships were then filling with Sick, and as many dying on that ſide: they were ordered to goe into *Deep-water*, and ſail with the firſt fair Wind for *Belfaſt*. The Weather all this while was very diſmal; and yet we were obliged to ſtay till both the Ships were got into *Deep-water*, and the ſick gone by Land, leſt when we were gone, the Enemy ſhould ſpoil our Ships, and kill our Men.

Monday the 4th of *November* it was ordered, that all who had any ſick Men on Board, ſhould ſend an Enſign with ten Men to take

November. take care of them; and if the Men wanted any thing, they were to send to Mr. *Shales* for it. The Tents that were by the Water-side were to be taken on Board to keep the sick Men warm, and every Regiment was to have the same number again that they brought thither. The Fifth it was confirmed that the Enemy were gone to Quarters, and the Sixth we had Orders to march. Next day *Stuart, Herbert, Gower, & Zanchy* (formerly my L. *Love-lace's*) towards *Newry*; *Hanmer, Deering, Drogheda, Beaumont, Wharton, Bellasis* (before the Duke of *Norfolk's*) and *Roscommon*, were to march towards *Armagh*; Maj. Gen. *Kirk*, and the Dutch, were to go by *Newry*, and so down to *Antrim*. The Souldiers were ordered six days Bread, and a Fortnights Subsistence. I remember next Morning, as we were marching off, word was brought to us that the Enemy was approaching; and, God knows, we were in a very weak Condition to resist them, those that were best being scarce able to carry their Arms; however they were very hearty, and began to unbuckle their Tents at the News, and said, *If they came, they should pay for our lying in the Cold so long*: but it proved only a small Party who took two or three of our Men Prisoners as they were stragling.

Thursday the 7th of November, the Regiments above-named marched; the Hills as we went along being all covered with Snow, (for what was Rain in the Valley, was Snow on the Mountains); several that were not able to march up, were forced to be left, and so died; and all of us had but indifferent Lodgings that Night, amongst the Ruins of the old Houses at *Newry*. So little did the poor Men value dying, that some of them being in a Stable over-night, the next day two were dead; and the rest intreating me to get a Fire, which I did; coming about two hours after, they had pull'd in the two dead Men to make Seats of.

The ninth Day the rest of our Army marched from *Dundalk*, the Duke giving Orders first to burn some Arms and Provisions that could not be got off, because the Waggon were employed to carry the Men; and some few sick Men were left that could not be removed, those were at the Mercy of the Enemy, who did not use them ill, but buried several that were dead. At their first coming to *Dundalk*, they removed the Corps of our three dead Colonels out of my Lord *Bedlow's* Vault, and buried them nigh the Church-door, but did not abuse them as was reported.

of the Affairs of Ireland.

37

As the Rear of our Army was marching off from *Dundalk*, a *November*.
small Party of the Enemy's Horse came as far as *Moyry-Castle*,
two Miles from the Town, where they killed the Adjutant of
my Lord *Kingston's* Regiment, with two or three Souldiers that
were behind the rest; but a Party of our Horse advancing, the
Enemy retreated towards *Dundalk*, which they had possession of
within an hour after we had left it. *Some Men kil-
led.*

And that nothing might be wanting for the good of the Souldiers, the General before he left the Camp, viz. on the 23^d of *October*, set forth an Order how all Subaltern Officers and Souldiers were to be subsisted and cleared; according to which all Colonels and superiour Officers were to take care that their Men were paid, as they would answer the contrary at their Perils.

Sometime after our coming to Quarters, I was told a very remarkable Story relating to the manner of our decamping at *Dundalk*: It was by one Mr. *Hambleton* of *Tollymore*, a Justice of Peace in his Country, and a sober rational Man, which was to this effect; Himself and two other Gentlemen, with their Servants, coming from *Dublin* into the North, at least a Year before our Landing; As they came towards *Dundalk*, about nine a Clock at Night, they espied several little twinkling Lights in the Air, with two larger than the rest: They staid some time in the Town, and designing for *Newry* that Night, Mr. *Hambleton* went a little before his Company, and saw the same Lights again, as high as he could guess, about the Ground where we afterwards Encamp'd: On the side of the Hill, as he was to go towards the Mountains, he turned about and look'd at them, and at the same time he heard the most dismal and heavy Groans in the World. This startled him something, and presently his Company came up, who all saw the Lights, and heard the Noise, which continued till they got almost to *Newry*; but the Lights they saw no more after they turned their Backs off the Plains of *Dundalk*. They have a great many Stories of this kind in *Ireland*: And the *Inniskilling*-Men tell you of several such things before their Battels, but I have only the Reader's Pardon to ask for the trouble of this. *A Remarkable Story.*

The Army at our decamping, was dispersed all over the North to Winter-Quarters, which were but very indifferent; and what with coming to warm Fire-sides with some, and others having little or no shelter to secure them, and very little Provisions, *How our Army was quarter'd.*

November.

visions, the Country being all wasted and destroyed, (nor was it possible to send Provisions every where till Storehouses were fixed): And then most of the Men being very weak before they left the Camp, and marching in the Cold and Wet to come to those Places, we had more that died when they came to Quarters, than died in the Camp. I have a Copy of the Order by me which directed how and where all Regiments were to be disposed, but it's needless to insert it, only our Frontier Garisons, were *Green-Castle* and *Rosstriver*, where quartered *Beaumont* and *Stuart*; *Newry*, where was *Sir Henry Inglesby*; *Tandragee*, *Sir Henry Bellasis*, and some of *Devison's* Dragoons; *Legacory* had some of the French, and at *Armagh* were *Drogheda* and *Deering*; at *Clownish*, *Monahan*, and those places, were *Hastings* and some of the *Iniskilliners*. The General had his Head-Quarters at *Lisburn*; and the Hospital was ordered to be at *Belfast*, which is a very large Town, and the greatest for Trade in the North of *Ireland*; it stands at the head of the Bay of *Curickfergan*, and the Inhabitants have lately built a very famous Stone-Bridge, but the Wars coming on, it is not as yet quite finished.

The Reasons of
our Men dying.

I doubt not but most People will be curious to know how many died this Campaign, and in Quarters, and what could be the occasion of such Mortality; as likewise how many the Enemies Numbers were when they lay so nigh us, and wonder why two Armies should lie so near together (for our Front and theirs were for above a Fortnight not two miles asunder) and yet so little of Action happen. As to the first, whatever the World may think, yet I can attribute those Distempers amongst us to nothing else but the Badness of the Weather, the moistness of the Place, the unacquaintedness of the English to hardships, and indeed their lazy Carelessness: for I remember a Regiment of Dutch that Encamp'd at the end of the Town, were so well hurted, that not above eleven of them died the whole Campaign; but it's the same thing with the English whenever you take them first out of their own Country as it was here: and let Men be in other things never so happy, if they have Courage, and know the use of their Arms, yet when they come upon Duty, if they have not Bodies inured to hardships, they lie under a great disadvantage. But in truth we could scarce have been more unfortunate either in a Place or in the Weather than whilst we were there; for it would often rain all Day

Day upon us when there was not one drop in the Enemies Camp: this they used to call a *Judgment*, but it was because we lay in a Hollow at the Bottoms of the Mountains, and they upon a high sound Ground: the Enemy did not at first die so fast as we did, because they were born in the Country, and were used to bad lying and feeding, but before they decamped they were nigh as ill as we; and abundance died after they got to Quarters.

One thing I cannot omit, and that is, that our Surgeons were very ill provided with Druggs, having in their Chests only some little things for Wounds, but little or nothing that might be useful against the Flux and the Fever, which were the two raging Distempers amongst us; and yet I cannot but think that the Fever was partly brought to our Camp by some of those People that came from Derry, for it was observable that after some of them came amongst us, it was presently spread over the whole Army, yet I did not find many of themselves died of it.

As to the Number of our Men that died, I am sure there were not above sixteen or seventeen Hundred that died in or about Dundalk; but our Ships came from Carlingford and Dundalk about the 13th of November to Belfast, and there were ship'd at those two places 1970 sick Men, and not 1100 of those came ashore, but died at Sea; nay, so great was the Mortality, that several Ships had all the Men in them dead; and no Body to look after them whilst they lay in the Bay at Carrickfergus. As for the Great Hospital at Belfast, there were 3762 that died in it from the first of November to the first of May, as appears by the Tallies given in by the Men that buried them: There were several that had their Limbs so mortified in the Camp, and afterwards, that some had their Toes, and some their whole Feet that fell off as the Surgeons were dressing them; so that upon the whole matter, we lost nigh one half of the Men that we took over with us.

As to the Enemies Numbers, and the reason why so little Action happened; the Accounts that were given by Deserters both as to the Enemies Numbers and Designs, were so various and disagreeing, that the General himself was at a Loss what to trust to: (which, if well considered, will answer many of those rash Objections made to the management of that Campaign.) I

November.

Chirurgeons ill provided.

Number of Men that died at Dundalk.

The Enemies Numbers.

ments, (besides three Independent Troops) 3 of which marked thus *, did not come to the Camp, and 2 more came late, so that we could not make above 8 Regiments of Horse and Dragoons, when the Irish drew out upon us, and 3 of those were Inniskilliners.

Foot.
Colonel *Deering*.
Colonel *Herbert*.
Sir *The. Gower*.
Colonel *Earle*.
La Millineir.
Du Cambon.
La Callimott.

Inniskillin and Derry Foot.

* Col. *Gustavus Hamilton*.
* Colonel *Lloyd*.
* Colonel *White*.

Colonel *Mitchelburne*.
* Colonel *St. Johns*.
Colonel *Tiffany*.

Note, that the Foot marked thus *, were not at *Dundalk*, but in *Garifon*.

These make in all (counting the *Blew Battalion* for one) thirty Regiments of Foot; but those were all that we had in *Ireland*; there were some at *Derry*, and Col. *Hamilton's* Regiment at *Carickfergus*; some at *Inniskillin*, and others at *Sligo* (till the Irish took it from us). Fifty Men were left upon a Party at *Newry*; There were also several killed at *Carickfergus*, and some left sick and wounded at *Belfast*; besides the two *Hamiltons*, *Lloyds*, *White's*, *St. John's* and *Hastings's*, never came to the Camp. Sir *Henry Inglesby's* and two Regiments of Horse came not till our Camp was fix'd; and then Maj. Gen. *Kirk's*, Sir *John Hanmer's*, and Brigadier *Stuart's* Regiments had laid long on Ship-board, and had been harass'd, so that they had lost several of their Number. Some also were dead or sick, and others run away. Put all these things together (I say) and we cannot suppose that the Duke had above 2000 Horse and Dragoons, and not many more than 12000 Foot, when the Irish proffer'd him Battel.

I have no warrant from any body for what I am going to say, only I think my self oblig'd to give an account of what I am perswaded is true, in answering those Objections, which were made by the Army first, and then by several of the People of *England* that had lost their Relations or Friends, (viz.) That the Duke

November.

Duke was to blame he did not go on at first without stopping; for then we had got *Dublin*, and all the Kingdom would have fallen of course, without half that expence of Treasure that *England* has been at. And that we lost more Men by lying at *Dundalk*, than we could have done in a Battel; and also a year's time which might have been employed with an Army in the Heart of *France*. These things, and several of the like nature, have been objected to the Conduct of that Great Man, who always thought it better to owe his Victories to good Management than good Fortune; since wise Counsels are still within the Power of wise Men, but Success is not. And what Man in the World would be thought wise, and his Actions entertained as the best, if only such were so, against whom and which no Objection could be made? The Memory therefore of such a Man ought not to suffer, who all his Life-long had been said to act with the greatest Prudence in the World: And for his management in this Affair, no doubt he could give very substantial Reasons; yet, because those are not, nor cannot be known to the World, I shall only offer some few that I have had from very good Hands, and which I know in the main to be true. It's an easy thing for Men to sit at home by a warm Fire-side, and find fault with Affairs of the greatest Moment, tho' they know no more than the Man in the Moon what such things mean; and if we get but into a Coffee-house, or over a Bottle in a Tavern, we can be greater Statesmen and Generals in opinion than those that are really so; and can do that in conceit in two hours, which the greatest Men find a difficulty to perform in some years. The Duke therefore I humbly conceive had more Reasons for what he did than I can think on, or possibly ever heard of. But what I have to offer are these, as,

The Reasons why the General went no further than Dundalk.

1. Where the Fault lay I know not, but I was at *Chester* when the Duke had been above a week in *Ireland*; and all or most of the Waggon-Horses, and some of the Train-Horses were there; then not did they come over till we had been some time at *Dundalk*. The Country as we marched, was all destroyed by the Irish; so that by that time we got to *Newry*, I was forced to go and dig Potatoes, which made the greatest part of a Dinner to better Men than my self; and if it was so with us, it may easily be supposed that the poor Soldiers had harder times of it. This the Duke was very sensible of, and sent for Mr. *Wolfe*.

Com.

Commissary to the Train, and told him that he must send back his Horses for Bread for the Men : And when the other urged, it was a thing never known that the Train-Horses were employed to any other Use than what belonged to the Train it self; the Duke replied, He knew the truth of that; but that he had rather break any Rules than his Men should starve; and accordingly some of the Horses were sent for Bread, as I have observed before.

2. For want of Horses and Carriages the Duke was forced to ship the greatest part of his Train, and several Necessaries for a Camp, at *Carickfergus*; and gave Orders that the Ships should sail with the first fair Wind for *Carlingford*-Bay : but though the Wind was very favourable, they did not stir in ten days after; nor did there any Ships come to *Carlingford*, till we had been at *Dundalk* at least a week, and then only four came at a time. I have heard indeed that he who had the Sailing-Orders, went some-where with them, and the Ships lay still for want of them : but how true this is, I know not.

3. It was said, that the General had assurance given him, before he left *England*, that an Army should be landed in the West of *Ireland*, at his marching through the North, (and accordingly we had it several times affirmed that it was so :) This no doubt would have distracted the Irish, and made the Duke's Passage to *Dublin* much more easy. But the General had an account I suppose that this could not be, and therefore he must stand or fall by himself. Nor would any that knew *Duke Schonberg* believe he would ever come abroad with so small an Army, and so ill provided : And I have heard say, that that Army was never designed to conquer *Ireland*, but to defend the North.

4. It was no difficult thing for him to march his Army as far as *Dundalk*, and that safely, by reason the Country was full of Mountains and Bogs; and the Enemies Horse could not do him much harm, (though if they had pleased, they needed not have let us come past *Newry*, and yet their Horse had then newly come from *Derry*, and were gone to recruit.) But if he had pass'd that Place, it was a plain and open Country, and we might easily have been surrounded, and our Communication both from the North and also from our Ships cut off: for if we past *Dundalk*, we could have no more benefit of our Shipping till we had been Masters of *Drogheda*, or else have gone to *Dublin*.

November. *lin.* and then we must have gone over the *Boyne*, which thrice our Number, and that too in a dry Season in the midst of Summer, found some difficulty in passing; and all this we must have performed in two or three days, or else have starved.

5. Suppose that if we had marched on and made an halt at *Dundalk*, we might have gone to *Dublin*, the Irish Army not being got together, (for I have heard it was debated whether *Drogheda* should have been surrendered if we advanced thither? and it was once carried in the Affirmative): But the Duke was not certain of the Enemies Condition; nor if he had, Would it have been any prudence to have gone on without Provisions, without Ships, and a great many other things that were absolutely necessary? He knew he was safe at *Dundalk*, and therefore he chose to stay there and understand the posture of the Enemy, and expect his own Things and Forces, rather than run the hazard of gaining that by meer Fortune, which if she had frowned, the Damage was certainly irreparable.

6. The General was a meer Stranger in the Country, and therefore he must look at a great many Things with other Mens Eyes, and some of those were dim enough; nor had he any Counsel assigned him, but had the whole shock of Affairs upon himself, which was the occasion that he scarce ever went to Bed till it was very late, and then had his Candle, with a Book and Pensil by him; this would have confounded any other Man, and was fit for no Body to undertake but Duke *Schonberg*, or his Master that employed him. Before the Duke could be ready therefore to march forwards, the *Irish* Army was come and sat down by us, and then it was too late.

And why he did
not fight the
Irish Army.

Nor do I think he was more to blame in refusing Battel, when the *Irish* seem'd to proffer it; for though it's probable that the *Irish* at our first coming over, took our Numbers to be greater than they really were, yet by that time we had been a Week at *Dundalk*, they knew our Numbers and our Circumstances as well as we our selves did, both by the Intelligence they had in the Country, and by several of the *French* that had a mind to betray us: For, all things considered, we had not above 14000 Horse and Foot, and very few of those Horse; nor was the Duke to go according to our reputed Numbers, but to what we were in Reality. The Enemy had nigh four times our Number

ber of Horse and Dragoons, with double our Number of Foot : nor could we have drawn out upon them without a manifest disadvantage, there being several Bogs and Canleys between us and them, that whosoever gave the Attaque. (all things else considered) it was odds against them : Besides, most of our Souldiers were new Men, and had never seen a Sword drawn in Anger, nor a Gun fired in Earnest in their Lives ; and what such Men will do till they be tried, there's none can tell. I believe the Men had as good Hearts, and were all as ready I am sure to engage as was possible ; but several of them were ignorant of the true use of their Arms, for when they came afterwards to fire at a Mark singly, they gave too great proof to any Man of sense of their Unskilfulness. This is no Reflection upon the Officers, for it's scarce possible to make new-raised Men good Souldiers till they have seen some Action ; and yet several Officers might have taken more care than they did. If it be objected, that the Enemies Men were far worse in this respect than ours ; I answer : Not, for a great many of them had been Souldiers for at least four Years before : and if we had gone out into the Plain, and had our Foot charged by their Horse at the rate we were afterwards at the Boyne, I know not what might have followed.

Besides, we had an Enemy in our Bosom at that time undiscovered, (I mean the *French*) ; and if those at the beginning of an Engagement should have fired in the Rear or Flank of our Army upon our own Men, and then run over to the Enemy as was designed, this might quickly have bred an apprehension of Treachery in the whole, that a Consternation, and from this such a Confusion, that our whole Army might easily have been disordered ; for those that understand Armies, know that a small thing in appearance may do a great deal of Mischief at such a time. And some are of Opinion that the *Irish* did not design to fight that Day, but only drew out to see who would come over to them (because they were made believe that all the *French*, and a great many *English* would) for the Duke, who was a great Judg. often said, when he saw the Enemy appear, That they did not look as if they would fight, (except once) but that they designed something else : But, God be thanked, the *English*

November. were stedfast and true to a Man, and they were disappointed of their Foreigners too.

Upon the whole Matter, I doubt not, but it will appear to any Man that pleases to consider it, that the Duke did better in not hazarding that in a moment, which may be was not to be redeemed again in many Ages, since not only the Safety of these Kingdoms did in a great measure depend upon it, but a great part of the Protestant Interest in *Europe* had a Concern in it. And where the Fates of Kingdoms, and the Lives and Interests of Thousands are at Stake, Men are still to act on solid Reasons and Principles; the Turns of a Battle being so many, and are often occasioned by such unexpected Accidents, which also proceed from such minute Causes, that a wise and great Captain (such as Duke *Sobieski* was) will expose to Chance only as much as the very Nature of War requires.

And as to what happened at *Dundalk*, by the Men dying afterwards, this was not the General's Fault, for he could not march back till the enemy was gone, (his Men then being so very weak, had all been cut off); nor could he foresee what Weather it would be whilst he staid, nor how the *English* Constitutions would bear it. And as to his Care that they should want nothing, let any but consider the Orders through the Camp, and he will find it was scarce in the power of any Man to do more.

But I am afraid it will be thought impertinent, to endeavour the defence of so great a Man's Actions, and to do it no better; I only add therefore, that this Town of *Dundalk* has by turns been unfortunate to the People of the three Nations. It was in Time past a Town very strongly walled, which *Edward Bruce*, Brother to the King of *Scots*, (who had Proclaimed himself King of *Ireland*) burnt; but he was near this place afterwards slain, with 8200 of his Men. Afterwards the *Irish* under *Shan O'Neal*, laid siege to it, but were repulsed with very great loss: Then in the Year 1641, my Lord *Munro* and Sir *Henry Tichborne* beat three thousand *Irish* out of *Dundalk*, and killed a great many of them, having only 750 Foot and 200 Horse. And the Misfortune of the *English* last Year was not inferior to any of these.

Former Misfortunes at Dundalk.

But

But to return to Matter of Fact. The Enemy had left eight Regiments at *Ardee* when they Decamped, out of which Regiments, so soon as we were gone to Quarters, they detached 1600 Men, and those with 100 Volunteers were to force the Pass at *Newry*, and then go along the Line to destroy our Frontier Garisons, (which at that time had been no difficult Task to have performed) they march'd all Night *Saturday* the 23 of *November*, and came on *Sunday* Morning, by break of Day (or before) to the other side of the Bridg at *Newry*; this Party was commanded by Major General *Boislean*, having with him a Brigadeer, three Colonels and other Officers proportionable; there was then in the Garrison most of what were left of Colonel *Ingleby's* Regiment, which were not many above sixty, and not forty of those able to present a Musquet; the Enemy sent a Party of a 100 Men to pass the River a little above the Bridg, and come in at the North-east-end of the Town, whilst the main Body march'd over the Bridg, beyond which we had two Centinels placed at 100 paces distance from each other; the first challenged thrice, and then his Piece missed fire and he was killed, the next challenged and fired upon them, which alarmed the Garrison: As they advanced near the middle of the Town, in a strait place near the Castle, a Sergeant and twelve Men being upon the Guard, drew out and fired, then retreated to the old Walls, charged and fired again; by this time all the Officers and Souldiers that were able to crawl were got into the Market-place, with some few Townsmen; the Enemy came in both ways, and fired, doing us some damage; the poor fellows that were not able to come out, fired their Pieces out at the Windows of some small Houses that were left standing: others that could not do better, got their backs to the old Walls, and so were able to present their Musquets: After some firing on both sides, the Enemy believing us to be a great many more than we really were, begun to shrink, which occasioned our Men to *Huzzah*, and then the Rogues run away, many of them for haste wading through the River up to their Necks, (the Tide being high at that time) they were followed down to the Bridg by a Captain and a very small party of Men, and though they were both threatned and intreated by their Officers to rally again, yet all would not do. They had a Lieutenant-Colonel kil-

November.
1700 of the Irish fall upon Newry.

And are repulsed by a handful.

November. led, and left six Men dead on the place: but afterwards we were informed they carried off twelve Horses loaden with dead and wounded Men: we took only one or two Prisoners, and if we had had a party of Horse or Dragoons to pursue them, nor many had gone home to tell the News; those that were kill'd had, not above two Bandileers full of Powder a-piece, and the rest full of Salt, which made us believe the Enemy at that time were scarce of Ammunition: they killed us two Captains and six Men, wounding a Lieutenant and Ensign. It was thought very odd that not so much as a Field Piece should be left at that important Pass of *Newry*, nor yet a party of Horse: but the Reason of that might be, because there were no Houses left standing to put them in, nor any Forage thereabouts for them. But after this the General ordered Detachements out of Colonel *Viller's*, Colonel *Coy's*, and those Regiments that lay most convenient, to go to *Newry*, and relieve by turns.

Col. Cambon
views Charle-
mont.

On the 26th of *November*, Colonel *Cambon* went to view the Garison of *Charlemont*, having 60 of Col. *Levison's* Dragoons along with him: the *Irish* had lined the Hedges nigh the place where he was to make his Observations, but were beat from thence by the Dragoons, who alighted and killed two or three; but about eight or ten of our Dragoons going too far from their main Body, were surprized and taken Prisoners, and most of them died before they could be relieved.

A Meeting of
Country Gentle-
men.

Towards the latter end of *November* the General summon'd all the Gentlemen in the Country to meet him at *Lisburn*, where they presented him with an Address; and agreed upon Rates for all sorts of Provisions, which were commanded to be sold accordingly by the Duke's Proclamation: but this was very disagreeable to the Country People, who had made us pay trebble Rates before for every thing we had from them.

A party of the *Irish* Garison at *Charlemont* stole out one Night and burnt *Duncanon*, a small Town some five miles off. And *November* 29, Brigadier *Stuart* having Intelligence that my Lord *Antrim's* Regiment in *Dundalk* designed again to attack *Newry*, he with a party of about 250 Horse and Foot, met them as they were coming, and killed about thirty, taking seventeen Prisoners, some of whom were Officers.

December

December.

December the 4th, Colonel Woolsey went in the Night with a party of Iniskilliners towards Belurhet, upon whose approach the Garison being surprized, they yielded (upon the first Summons) to be conducted to the next Garison, though they had fortified the place very well.

The 12th of December the Duke went to view Charlemont, they fired their Cannon upon him and his Party; but however, some of our Men took a Prey of Cattel from under the very Walls. And about this time the General gave out Orders to be observed by all the Army; which being very commendable in themselves, if every one had endeavoured to put them in Execution, it will not be improper therefore to mention some few of them.

1. That the Captain or Officer commanding each Company, meet at two a Clock at the Guard-House each Tuesday to punish Offenders, and to consider what may be for the Good of the Regiment, and that the Country have notice thereof, that if there be any Complaints against the Souldiers they may be heard.

2. That the Souldiers have strict Orders to frequent Divine Service every Sunday; and that the Officers punish Swearing, and all other Vices, as directed by the Articles of War.

3. That the Souldiers that are to mount the Guard, be there by six of the Clock in the Morning, and exercise till Eleven; and that the Chaplain be there to read Prayers before the Guard be mounted.

4. That every Captain take care of the General's Orders for regulating the Foot, and the Major-Generals for Exercising; and diligently observe the same.

5. That an Officer twice a Week visit the Sick, and a Sergeant twice a Day; and give the Chirurgion and Chaplain notice that they may immediately repair to them.

And a great many more Orders there were to this purpose, but these are sufficient to show the Care of the General in every Thing, and that he was far from those Imperfections some People were pleased to reproach him with.

About this time there was a great Booty of Cattel taken by Lieut. Col. Berry, who went from Clonish to Sligo with a Party;

December. Party, he saw no Enemy, but found their Cattel, and brought them Home with him. And now the Irish begin to make the Coin of their Brass Money less than it was at first: Calling in the large Brass Half-Crowns, and stamping them a new for Crowns. They wanting Metal to go on with it as they first began: They say it was a Quaker that first proposed this Invention of Brass Money; but whoever it was, they did that Party a signal piece of Service, since they would never have been able to have carried on the War without it. However the Quakers have been very serviceable to that Interest, for I am assured by some in the Irish Army, that they maintained a Regiment at their own Cost; besides several Presents of value that they made to the late King.

Mr. Shales a Prisoner.

There were now great Complaints against Mr. *Shales*, and those flew so high that he was secured by an Order from England; and was sent with a Guard to *Belfast*, and so designed for London: He stayed some Days at *Belfast* before he could be ready, and in the mean time fell ill of a Fever, recovering with a great deal of Difficulty: Yet afterwards he went over, but I heard of no Proceedings against him. We had Stories at *Dundalk*, and afterwards, that the Beef and Brandy, and what other things we received from the Stores, were all poisoned; but all this was Stuff, and believed by no Body of Sense. I heard indeed some Masters of Ships (who had their Vessels laden with Provisions for Ireland) say, that he stop'd them all at *High-Lake* and *Liverpool*, threatening to seize them if they came over, for he had undertaken to provide the Army with every thing. I am a Stranger to Mr. *Shales*, and yet I believe him to be a Man of more Sense than that comes to; and further I have heard some People say, that were near him in his Sickness, that he was not at all concerned, as being not conscious to himself of any thing he had done which he ought not, but yet he used to say, that he would set the Saddle upon the Right Horse.

Col. *Langston* dies at *Luburn* in a Fever, and my Ld. *Hewet* and my Ld. *Roscommon* of the same Distemper at *Chester*; and the Fever was very violent at this time all the North of Ireland over, insomuch that it was impossible to come into any House but some were Sick or Dead, especially at *Belfast* where the Hospital was. I have sometime stood upon the Street there and seen ten or a dozen

A great Mortality.

of the Affairs of Ireland.

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zen Corps (of the Towas People) go by in little more than half an Hour. December

Towards the latter end of *December*, Major General *Mackarry* made his Escape from *Imiskillin*, who had remained there a Prisoner ever since the Rout at *Newtown-Buster*; he had been Sick, and at that time writ to Major General *Kirk* to get leave of the Duke to have his Guard removed, which he complained of was troublesome in his Sickness, this was done; but at his Recovery (they say) a Serjeant and some Men were put upon him again. The Town it seems stands upon a Loagh, and the Water came to the Door of the House where he was confined, or very near it. He found means to corrupt a Serjeant, and so got two small Boats, called Cotts, to carry him and his best Moveables off in the Night. The Serjeant went along with him, but returned that Night to deliver a Letter, which, and *Mackarry's* Pass, being found in the Lining of his Hat, he was the next Day shot for it. Major General Mackarry Escapes.

The General was much concerned when he heard of *Mackarry's* Escape, and said he took him to be a Man of Honour, but he would not expect that in an Irish Man any more. Col. *Hamilton*, the Governour of *Imiskillin*, was blamed for his Negligence, but he came to *Lisbon* and desired a Tryal, which could not be for want of Field-Officers till the month of *March*, at what time he produced Major General *Kirk's* Letter to him, by which he was cleared.

About *Christmas* there happened an unlucky Accident at *Belfast*, *Cranmer*, *Bowls* and *Moxley*, three Lieutenants in Major General *Kirk's* Regiment, happened to kill two Masters of Ships, and being tried by a Court-Martial, the thing appeared so ill, that they were all three Shot.

On the 8th and 10th of *January* there were several Regiments broke one into another, by reason of the want of Men in them, viz. The Regiments broke were my Lord *Drogheda's*, Col. *Zanchy's*, Sir *Henry Inglesby's*, Lord *Roscannon's*, Col. *Hamilton's*; and the Officers were continued at half Pay, till there could be Provision made for them in other Regiments. The 12th, 16th and 20th, several Officers went over into *England* for Recruits. And Sir *Thomas Newcomb's* House, in the County of *Longford*, January

was

January.
Sir Thomas
Newcomb's
house surrendered.

was surrendered upon very good Terms, it being held out by his Lady against a great Party of the Irish; for the House is strongly situated, and she got about 200 of her Tenants into it; who defended the Place till the Irish brought Field-pieces against it, tho it was above 20 Miles from any of our Garisons. Of the Men that were in it one hundred of them were entertained by Sir *John Hammer* in his Regiment, and the rest were provided for by the Duke at *Lisburn*.

A Proclamation
against Swearing

But though our Army had been much afflicted with Sickness and Mortality, yet this was little taken notice of by a great many who gave themselves up to all the Wickedness imaginable, especially that ridiculous Sin of Swearing: of which complaint being made to the Duke by several of the Clergy then at *Lisburn*, and frequent Sermons preached against it; this occasioned the Duke to let out a Proclamation, bearing date *January 18*. Strictly forbidding Cursing, Swearing, and Profaneness in Commanders and Souldiers; which, he said, were Sins of much Guilt and little Temptation; but that several were so wicked as to invoke God more frequently to damn them than to save them; and that notwithstanding the dreadful Judgments of God at that time upon us for those and such like Sins, fearing that their Majesties Army was more prejudiced by those Sins, than advantaged by the Courage or Conduct of those guilty of them. And therefore he commanded all Officers and Souldiers in his Army from thence forward to forbear all vain Cursing, Swearing, and taking God's holy Name in vain, under the Penalties enjoined by the Articles of War, and of his utmost Displeasure: Commanding also the said Articles to be put in the strictest execution. For no doubt the Debaucheries in Armies are the high way to Ruin, since those both obey and fight best that are most sober.

Brigadier Stuart's
Stratagem
to fall upon the
Irish.

January 22. Brigadier *Stuart* with a Party of 500 Horse and Foot went from *Rastriver* and *Newry* beyond the Mountains towards *Dundalk* and *Cullingford*, burning most of the Cabbins where the Irish sheltered themselves, and took a considerable Prey of Cattle. The Irish had some People dwelt amongst us, who had agreed upon giving them a Sign when any Party of ours was to march out, which was by making Fires in several Places: this the Brigadier understood by a Prisoner, and so made Fires

three

three or four times, which alarm'd the Irish at first; but when they found it done several times, and no Party appear, they neglected the Sign: so that when our Party marched indeed, they took no notice of it, which gave the Brigadier opportunity of marching where he pleased, without opposition.

There came one Mr. King an Attorney from the Enemies Quarters, and gave the Duke an account how things stood at Dublin. And about this time the Irish had got a trick (having always good Intelligence) to come in the night, and surprize our Men in their Beds, as they quartered in the Country in single Houses. They stole five or six of my Lord Drogheda's Men night dragoes, which obliged the Officers to order all the Men to lie in the Town for the future. The 25th of January the Duke went from Lubburn to Legacory, and so to several Places on the Frontiers, as Lieut. Gen. Douglas had done before. And a great Store was ordered at * Armagh, and several others up and down the Country, for the most conveniency to the adjoining Garisons.

January.
* Armagh is the Metropolitan of the whole Island, where S. Patrick the Irish Apostle resided in his lifetime, and they say resided after death, (who there is as much Contention about his Grave as Homer's) in honour of whom it was of such venerable estimation on in that time, that not only Bishops and Priests, but Princes paid their great Respects.

On Sunday Febr. 2. a Party of my Lord Drogheda's Regiment of 100 Men, with 20 Dragoons, and about 60 of the Country People marched from Tondragee and Market-hill: Their business was to surprize two Companies of Irish Foot, who lay nigh the Mountains of Slawegellion, and defended a great number of Cattel there. The Enemy had some notice of their coming, and seem'd to design fighting, but considered better of it, and ran away; 17 of them took to a Bog, in which were taken one Lieutenant Murphy and four more, one Man being killed only; our People brought home about 500 Cattel.

February.

February the 8th, the General had an account that the Enemy were drawing down some Forces towards Dundalk, and that they had laid in great Store of Corn, Hay, and other Provisions, in order to disturb our Frontier-Garisons from thence. The Duke sent a Ship or two towards Dundalk, who burnt some of the Irish Gabbards: But the Report of these Forces obliged the General to send a considerable Body of Horse and Foot that way; and he himself, February the 11th, went towards Drummore, in order to wait the Enemies Motion. (It was very observable how much the Men and Horses were now recovered from what they had been two months before.)

The General draws some Forces into the field.

Sir John Lanier and Col. La Millinier were sent out with a Party, who went as far as Carlingford, and returned with an account

February.

that there were only 3 Regiments at *Dundalk* as formerly. But the Design of the Irish lay another way : for whilst the Duke was upon this Expedition, Col. *Woofsely* had notice that the Irish had a design to fall upon *Belturbet* ; to which purpose a considerable Number of them was come to *Cavan*, and more to follow in a day or two. Col. *Woofsely* to prevent them, marched from *Belturbet* with 700 Foot and 300 Horse and Dragoons ; he began his march in the evening, thinking to surprize the Enemy next morning early, (the distance between being about 8 miles ;) but he met with so many Difficulties in his March, (and the Enemy had notice of his coming) that instead of being at the Place before day, as he designed, it was half an hour after day-break before he came in sight of it ; so that instead of surprizing them, the first thing our Men saw was a Body of the Enemy drawn up in good order, judged to be nigh 4000 : this was severe, but there was no help for it, fight we must, for retreating was dangerous. Col. *Woofsely* encourages his Men, and tells them the Advantages of being brave, and the inevitable Ruin of the whole Party if they proved otherwise : they were as ready to go on as he to desire it : And then he sends an advance-Party of *Innishillin* Dragoons towards the Enemy, who were presently charged by a great Party of the Enemies Horse, and beat back past the Front of our own Foot, who were so enraged at them, that some of M. G. Kirk's and Col. *Wharson's* Men fired, and killed 7 or 8 : some of the Enemies Horse pursued them so far, that many of them were kill'd by our Foot as they endeavour'd to get off. By this time the Body of our Party was advanced pretty near the Irish, who were posted upon the Top of a rising Ground not far from the Town : As our Men advanced up the Hill, the Irish fired a whole Volley upon them, and then set up the Huzzah, but scarce killed a Man, (for they shot over them ;) our Men however went on till they were got within Pistol-shot of them, and then fired, by which they galled the Irish so, that they immediately run towards the Town : We pursued, and they retired to a Fort ; but Col. *Woofsely's* Men falling to plunder in the Town, the Irish sallied out, and gave us a very fierce Attack. Col. *Woofsely* having 250 Foot and about 80 Horse for a Reserve, the Enemy was beat off again, their Horse flying beyond the Town, and their Foot taking to the Fort. Our Souldiers got good store of Shoes, and all sorts of Provisions, and about 4000 pounds in Brass Money, a great deal of which the Souldiers threw about the Streets as not thinking it worth the Car-

Carriage; their Ammunition was blown up, and their Provisions destroyed (for Col. *Woolsey* was forced to set the Town on fire to get his own Men out in the time of the Salley). The Colonel knew not what might happen, and therefore he drew off his Men, and marched homewards. The Irish they say were commanded by the Duke of *Berwick*, who had his Horse shot under him; and in two or three days they were to have 10000 Men at *Cavan* to fall upon *Belturbet*, and other places. The Enemy lost in this Expedition, Brigadier *Nugent*, and as they say *O Riley*, Governour of *Cavan*, with a great many Officers, and about 300 Souldiers.

In this Action we lost about thirty, with Maj. *Traherne*, Capt. *Armstrong*, and Capt. *Mayo*, who were killed by pursuing too far; a French Reformed Officer, and Capt. *Blood* an Engineer, were wounded. We took twelve Officers and about sixty Souldiers Prisoners, who were brought soon after to *Carickfergus*. I have spoke with several Irish Officers since, and they will not allow their Loss to be so great, or ours so little in this Action as we make them, yet give us the Advantage to a great degree.

At the General's return to *Lisburn*, he received an Account from Col. *Woolsey* of this Action, much to the same effect as I have related it. And on the 15th of February, Sir John Lanier, with a Party of 1000 Horse, Foot, and Dragoons, went from *Newry* towards *Dunkalk*; it was in the Evening when he marched, and next Morning early, being Sunday, he appeared before the Town. The Enemy had Fortified it very well, so that the Major-General did not think fit to attack it, (nor do I believe he had any Orders to do it) he drew up his Foot however on the side of an Hill, between the left of our old Horse-Camp and the Town, a good Musquet-shot from the Bridge; his Horse he sent nearer, somewhat to the Right at the side of the Lane. The Enemy at the Alarm appeared without the Town at first; but as we advanced, they retreated, till they got within their Works, from whence they fired incessantly. Whilst the main Body was so posted, Maj. Gen. Lanier sent a party of Horse and Dragoons beyond the River, who burnt the West part of the Town, from *Mortimer-Castle* to *Blake's House*, (being a great part of the Suburbs). At same time a Party of Col. *Levison's* Dragoons attack'd *Bedloe's Castle*, and took the Ensign that Commanded it, with 30 Prisoners; we lost a Lieutenant and three or four Dragoons, and had four Horses shot. Our Men brought from beyond the Town,

Sir John Lanier's Expedition to Dunkalk.

Febr.

and about it, nigh 1500 Cows and Horses: The Ensign that was taken, was brought to *Lisborn*, and carried before the Duke into his Garden, where he commonly used to walk before Dinner: Before the Duke ask'd him any Questions, me thought he gave him a pretty Caution to be sincere in his Answers, (though the General knew at the same time, he being a Prisoner, was not obliged to say any thing); *You (says the Duke) have a Commission, and for that reason (if not otherwise) you are a Gentleman; this obliges you to speak Truth, which if you do not, I can know it by examining of other Prisoners, and then I shall have no good Opinion of you.* After some publick Questions, the Duke took him aside, and talk'd with him nigh half an hour; but I suppose he could, or at least would say little that was material.

March.

The Danes arrive
in Ireland.

The beginning of *March*, came 470 Danes from *Whitehaven* to *Belfast*, and the Week following all the Foot arrived from *Chesster*, with the Prince of *Wurtemberg* their General: The Duke went down to see them, and was very well pleased, for they were lusty Fellows, and well Clothed and Armed.

Monsieur Callimot with his Regiment was posted upon the *Black-water* nigh *Charlemont*, and had kept them in very much on that side during Winter. On the 8th of *March* he took possession of a little Village within less than two miles of the Castle; the Enemy at first pretended to dislodge us, but having lost three of their Men, they retired.

Monsieur Callimot's Design upon Charlemont Bridge,

On the 12th at Night, Col. *Callimot* went, with a Party of his own, and some of Col. *St. John's* Regiment, being in all about 80 Soldiers and 20 Officers, with those he designed to cut down the Bridge at *Charlemont*, (it being Wood) and so to prevent the *Irish* from making Excursions in the Night as they used to do. In order to which, he put his Men into three Boats, and coming up the River within a mile of *Charlemont*, he landed his Men; and though they were discovered at a distance, yet he marched up to the Bridge and set Fire to it, taking a Redoubt at the Bridge-end, as also another near the Gate that leads to *Armagh*, killing about 20: But Day coming on, the Colonel thought it convenient to retreat, having lost only five or six Men; but Major *De la Bord* was killed as he went off. Lieut. Col. *Belcassel*, and a Captain whose Name was *Le Rapin*, wounded. This Attempt was very brave, for the Castle it self was within Musquet-shot of the Bridge, and nearer to those Works that we took. About this time were four

Prisoners.

March.

Prisoners brought to *Lisburn* that were taken nigh *Charlemont*; they gave an Account, that the *Garison* had been relieved some time before, and that the *Souldiers and Officers* who came in lately, did not like *Thom O'Roy's* Government; that *Bread and Salt* were scarce within; and that they believed the *Garison* could not hold out long if they had not fresh supplies of *Victuals*. All this while the *General* was daily sending up *Provisions* to our *Stores* upon the *Frontiers*, so that our *Men* were pretty well supplied every where; but the *Ways* were very bad, and *Carriages* scarce, so that the *Trouble and Charge* were both extraordinary.

We had News before this, that his Majesty designed to come in Person for *Ireland* against the succeeding Campaign; and now it was made certain, which was great Satisfaction to all, both *Officers and Souldiers*, and that upon several Accounts, some had been displeased, judging they had not fair play in their *Preferments*; others hoped to show themselves worthy the King's Notice by their future Actions; and most People expected a considerable Sum of Money to pay off the Army.

Then every one knew his Majesty's Industry, Courage, and Resolution to be so great, that he would endeavour to make a quick dispatch; and therefore, upon some account or other, all our Friends were pleased with it, and the greatest of our Enemies daunted to hear the News.

The 14th of March about 5000 *French Foot* landed at *King's-fale* with two Generals, *Count Luman* and the *Marquess de Lery*. *R. James* sending back *Maj. Gen. Mackenry* with as many *Irish*. Our Fleet was then attending the *Queen of Spain*, which made this Undertaking very easy to the *French*.

The French:
Land at King's-
fale.

The 23d of *March* Col. *Woolsey* sent out a Party beyond *Cavan* to bring in some Cattel for the use of his *Garison*; they got 1000 Head, and were pursued by the Enemy, but they brought off their Prey, and kill'd about 20 or 30. *Clothes, Arms, Ammunition and Provision*, arrived daily at *Belfast* from *England*.

April:

Killishandra
taken.

April the 6th Col. *Woolsey*, with a detach'd Party of 700 Men, went to Attack the Castle of *Killishandra*, about seven miles from *Beltinbar*; which after he had fix'd his Mines, and made some brisk Attacke on it, (the Men firing in upon the Enemy at their Spike-holes) they surrendered to him; there being 160 Men in it, commanded by one Capt. *Darkey*. We lost about eight.

April.



Sir Cloudesly
Shovel's Ex-
pedition to the
Bay of Dublin.

eight Men in this Action, and left 100 Men in Garrison there. Near the time of Col. *Woolsey's* return, the General sent a Battalion of *Danish* to reinforce him at *Belturbet*.

On the 8th Col. *Curtis*, and Col. *Babington's*, with a Regiment of *Danish* Horse, and some Recruits, landed at *Whitehouse* and marched to *Belfast*. And on the 10th Col. *Tiffin* sent out a Party from *Bellishannon*, who brought off a Prey from the Neighbourhood of *Sligo*, and killed about 16 of the Enemy as they pursued them.

Sir *Cloudesly Shovel* came on the 12 to *Belfast*, as Convoy to several Ships that brought over Necessaries for the Army; and there having Intelligence of a Frigate at Anchor in the Bay of *Dublin*, and several other small Vessels loaden with Hides, Tallow, Wools, some Plate, and several other things designed for *France*, he sailed April the 18th, (being *Good Friday*) to the Mouth of the Bay of *Dublin*, and there leaving the *Monk*, and some more great Ships, he took the *Monmouth*-Yatch, and one or two more, with several Long-Boats, and went to *Polebeg*, where the Frigate lay, (being one half of the *Scotch* Fleet that was taken in the Channel the Year before) having sixteen Guns and four Patteraroes. King *James* when he heard of it, said, *It was some of his Loyal Subjects of England returning to their Duty and Allegiance*; but when he saw them draw near the Ship, and heard the firing, he rid out towards *Rings-end*, whither gathered a vast crowd of People of all Sorts, and there were several Regiments drawn out if it were possible, to kill those Bold Fellows at Sea, who durst on such a good Day perform so wicked a Deed (as they called it). Capt. *Bennet* that commanded the Frigate, run her on Ground, and after several firings from some other Ships of theirs, as also from that, when they saw a Fireship coming in (which Sir *Cloudesly* had given a Sign to) they all quitted the Frigate, being at first about 40, but they lost six or seven in the Action. Sir *Cloudesly* was in the *Monmouth*-Yatch where Capt. *Wright* was very serviceable both in carrying in the Fleet, and in time of Action. In going off, one of our Hoys ran a-Ground, and was dry when the Tide was gone; the rest of the Boats were not far off, being full of Armed Men; and a *Frenchman*, one of *K. James's* Guards, coming nigh the Boats to fire his Pistols in a Bravo, had his Horse shot under him, and was forced to fling off his Jack-Boots and run back in his stockings to save himself; some of the Sea-men went on Shoar and took his

April.

his Saddle and Furniture. When the Tide came in, they went off with their Prize to the Ships below. K. James went back very much dissatisfy'd, and 'twas reported he should say, *that all the Protestants in Ireland were of Cromwel's Breed, and deserved to have their Throats Cut*: but whatever his thoughts might be, I suppose his discretion would not allow him to say so. However all the Protestants that walked that way during the Action, were secured in Prison, and two made their escape to our Boats.

May.
Relief put into
Charlemont.

May the 2d. Col. Mackmahon with a Detachment of between 4 and 500 Men got in the night over the Bogs into Charlemont, with Ammunition and some small quantities of Provisions. Mounfieur Davesant, Lieut. Col. to Cambon, having notice of it, and that they would return in a small time, he divided his Men into three Partics, and the third Night after their going in, they were marching out again (or at least others in their stead); the Road they took was where one Capt. Le Charry with forty Men was placed; he let their Van go past him, then fired upon their main Body, and killed eight, with an Officer, the rest retired again to Charlemont, leaving for haste 110 Musquets, six Halbards, some Drums, and several other things behind them. They made a second Attempt the same day, and at night they sallied out again upon some of Col. Callimott's Men, who retreated to 40 of Col. Curt's, and then beat in the Irish again, killing nine, and taking six Prisoners. An Account of this being given to the General, he sent two more Regiments of Foot to assist at the Blockade, and some say he knew of Mackmahons going in, and ordered they should suffer him to pass, for he knew their stay there presently would bring the Garrison so low, that they would be forced to Surrender. When old Teague O'Regan saw his Party beat in again two or three times, he was so Angry, that he swore, *If they could not get out, they should have no Entertainments nor Lodging within*: And he was as good as his word, for they were forced to make little Huts in the dry Ditch within the Palisadoes, and upon the Counterfearp, few or none of them being admitted within the Gates of the Castle; so that what between Teague on one side, and our Army on the other, the poor Fellows were in a most lamentable Condition.

During these Transactions, there came Ships every day from England with whatever was needful for the Army, and in the England.

second

May second Week of *May* there landed a Regiment of *Brandenburgers* with three *Dutch*, and a great many *English* Regiments; and by this time all the Recruits were come, and the Regiments clothed; so that we had an excellent Army, though there wanted as yet a great part of the Train, and several other things, which his Majesty did not think fit to leave *England* till they were in a readiness. The General had sent several Regiments up towards *Charlemont*, who now take the Field, and encamp almost round it; Cannon, and Mortars were also sent up that way, in order to force old *Teague* out of his Nest if he would not quit it willingly.

The General had sent him a Summons sometime before, but he was very surly, and bid the Messenger tell his Master from *Teague O Regan*, that he's an old Knave, and by St. Patrick he shall not have the Town at all, (and God knows there was no Town standing but the old Castle). The Duke only smiled at the Answer, and said: he would give *Teague* greater Reasons to be angry in a small time. Our Forces now lying so near them, and two Detachments being kept there against their wills, made every thing so very scarce, that they were reduced to great Straits, and no hopes of Relief appearing, on the 12th of *May* the Governour (having got leave from the Officer Commanding without, and a Guard for them) sent a Lieutenant-Colonel, and a Captain, with Terms of Surrender to the Duke, which with some Amendments were agreed to, for the Duke had an Account that the place was very strong, and therefore, he chose rather to give them Terms, than to spend time about it, since greater Matters were then in hand, and his Majesty was expected over very suddenly; the General ordered the *Irish* Officers to be treated very civilly, and then the Articles were signed as followeth.

*Charlemont
surrendered.*

The Articles.

1. **T**HAT all the Garrison, (viz.) Governour, Officers, Souldiers, Gunners, and all other Inhabitants (the Deserters who run from us since the first of September last excepted) shall have their Lives secured, and march out with their Arms, Bag and Baggage, Drums beating, Colours flying, lighted Matches, Bullets in their Mouths, each Officer and Souldier 12 Charges of Powder, with Match and Ball proportionable, and their Horses, without any Molestation in their Persons and Goods now in their Possession. (not belonging to the Stores) upon any pretence whatsoever.

2. That

of the Affairs of Ireland.

61

May.

2. That the said Garison may march the nearest way to Dundalk, and not be compell'd to march above eight or nine miles a Day.

3. That all sick and wounded Officers, and other Persons that are not able to march at present, may remain within the said Garison till they are able to march, and then to have a Pass to go to the next Irish Garison.

4. That none of the Army under his Grace's Command shall enter the said Fort, except such as are appointed by him to take possession of the same, till the Garison be marched clear out of the Gates.

5. That there shall be a sufficient Convoy appointed for the said Garison to conduct them to the place before mentioned.

6. That they shall deliver fully and wholly, without any imbezlement or diminution, all the Stores belonging to the said Fort; And that an Officer shall be immediately admitted to take an Account of the same.

7. That the Fort shall be put into the possession of such Forces as his Grace shall think fit, at eight of the Clock on Wednesday, being the 14th day of May, at which Hour the said Garison shall march out; and an Hour before the outward Gate shall be delivered to such Forces as his Grace shall appoint, in Case a supply of one Month's Provision for 800 Men be not brought into the Garison for their Relief, between the signing hereof and the said time.

8. That the above-mentioned Articles shall be inviolably performed on both sides, without any Equivocation, mental Reservation, or Fraud whatsoever, according to the true intent and meaning thereof.

Lastly, All Acts of Hostility shall cease between the said Garison and Army, so soon as notice can be given on both sides.

The Articles being signed, a Truce was published, and the General sent Robert Alloway Esquire, Commissary of the Train, to take an Account of the Stores in the Garison; and all the next day the Country People were buying Goods from those of the Garison; some of our Officers were invited in, and some of theirs came into our Camp. At the time appointed they marched out; and then drew up before the Gate, four Companies of Col. Babington's Regiment marching in. Most of our Regiments that thereabouts were drawn up as the Irish marched along towards Armagh, being all well Clothed and Armed, which made the Irish a little out of Countenance to see it. The Colonel of the Brandenburg Regiment seem'd very much concern'd, that he should come so far to fight against such Scoundrels as the

K

Irish

May

Irish seem'd by their Habits to be; some few of the Detachments being only as yet well clothed, though their Arms look'd well enough, and most of their Army had new Cloethes afterwards.

The General himself went that morning from *Leguery* to see the Castle of *Charlemont*; and after the *Irish* had marched about half a Mile from it, they drew up in two Battalions, (about 400 Men in each) and there stood, till the General came to see them; besides the Souldiers, they had also above 200 *Irish* Women and Children, who stood in a Body by themselves between the two Battalions.

A Description of
the Governour.

Old *Trague* the Governour was mounted upon an old Ston'd Horse, and he very lame with the Scratches, Spavin, Ring-bones, and other Infirmities; but withal so vicious, that he would fall a kicking and squeeling if any Body came near him. *Trague* himself had a great Bunch upon his Baek, a plain Red Coat, an old weather-beaten Wig hanging down at full length, a little narrow white Beaver cock'd up, a yellow Cravat-tring but that all on one side, his Boots with a thousand wrinkles in them; and though it was a very hot day, yet he had a great Muff hanging about him, and to crown all, was almost tipsy with Brandy. Thus mounted and equip'd, he approached the Duke with a Complement, but his Horse would not allow him to make it a long one, for he fell to work presently, and the Duke had scarce time to make him a civil Return; the Duke smiled afterwards, and said, *Trague's Horse was very mad, and himself very drunk.* The General then viewed the *Irish* Battalions, who all, both Officers and Souldiers, (after they had made him a great many Legs) stared upon him as if they knew not whether he was a Man, or some other strange Creature, for the *Irish* were generally wont to ask one another, *what is that Shambeer that all this talk is of?* The Duke seeing so many Women and Children ask'd the reason of keeping such a number in the Garrison, which, no doubt, destroy'd their Provisions? He was answered, that the *Irish* were naturally very hospitable, and that they all fear'd alike; but the greater reason was, the Souldiers would not stay in the Garrison without their Wives and Mistresses. The Duke reply'd, That there was more Love than Policy in it: and after some small time returned to the Castle, which he rid round, first without the Palisado's, and then within the Rampart.

Of the Garrison.

And of the Castle.

The Place is very strong, both by Nature and Art, being seated upon a piece of Ground (not four Acres) in the middle of a Bog, and only two ways to come to it, which the *Irish* had partly

partly broke down: They had also burnt and destroyed all the Country about it, being well inhabited formerly. The Town of *Charlemont* stood by the Castle, as we were told; but the *Irish* had so levelled it, that nothing remained to show that ever there had been any such thing; yet they had cast up several Forts and Breastworks to prevent our Approaches to the Castle, which of it self is a very regular Fortification. It's first palisado'd round, then a dry Ditch and Counterscarp; within this a double Rampart, and next a thick Stone-wall, with Flankers and Bastions almost every way; there are two Draw-bridges, and both well fortified; and within all stood the Magazines, with a large square Tower, where *Teague*, his Officers, and a great many of the Soldiers dwelt. They had left no Provisions in the Castle but a little dirty Meal, and part of a Quarter of musty Beef: And certainly they were reduced to great Necessity, for as they marched along, several of them were chewing and feeding very heartily upon pieces of dried Hides, with Hair and all on. In *Teague's* own Room I saw several Papers; amongst the rest a Copy of a Letter writ formerly to some about *R. James*, giving an Account of the State of the Garrison; and wishing a very true Relation of our Proceedings in several things, which shew'd they wanted not Intelligence. One thing tho' was false, for there it was said, that the *Crichts*, by coming down, and taking Protections from the General, had furnished us with Cattle and Provisions, when as we were ready to starve before. But that was an *Irish* Fancy, for several of the *Crichts* came down, and would have staid; but we sent them back because they brought nothing with them; and as to our selves, we were well supplied, either from the Stores, or from the Country.

There were two Priests in the Garrison, and there happened a pleasant Adventure between one of them and a Dragoon of *Col. Clifford's* Regiment, as they were guarding the *Irish* towards *Magh*: they fell into Discourse about Religion, the Point in hand was *Transubstantiation*; the Dragoon being a pleasant witty Fellow, drolled upon the Priest, and put him so to it, that he had little to say: upon which he grew so angry, that he fell a beating the Dragoon; but he not being used to Blows, thrash'd his Fatherhood very severely. Upon which complaint being made to *Teague* as he was at Dinner with our Officers at *Armagh*; all that he said was, *That he was very glad of it, What it Deal had he to do to dispute Religion with a Dragoon?* The Duke ordered every one

May.

of the *Irish* Souldiers a Loaf out of the Stores at *Armagh*; and the Officers were all civilly entertained, which made them go away very well satisfied with the General and highly commending our Army. There were in the Castle 17 Guns, most of which were Brass, one large Mortar-piece, Bombs, Hand-Granadoes, Match, and small Bullets a great quantity; as also 83 Barrels of Powder, with a great many Arms, and other things of use.

I know a great many blamed the Duke for not taking this Castle before he went to *Dundalk*, for then he might have had it for asking; however, it was not good to leave it behind him; but it's a mistake, for the *Irish* had then a good Garison in it, and the General could not at that time divide his Army, nor yet whilst he lay at *Dundalk* was it safe to endeavour it.

Charlemont was built by Sir Charles Blunt Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, who in Q. Elizabeth's Time had several Skirmishes with O'Neal Earl of *Tyrone* in this Country, and built this Fort a little below a former One that was called *Moun-Joy*, and this he called after his Christian Name *Charlemont*. It was afterwards improved by the present Lord *Charlemont's* Grand-father, and sold to the King, as being a Place of Strength and Conveniency to keep the Northern *Irish* in their Duty. It stands upon the *Black-water*, which runs from thence to *Portadown*, where in 1642 a great many Protestants were drowned by the *Irish*.

But to return. The same day that *Charlemont* was surrendered, Col. *Woolsey* went with a Party of 1200 Men to a Castle called *Bellingargy*, in which the Enemy had a Garison of above 200 Men. This was seated in a great Water, so that our Men must wade up to the middle to come at it. Col. *Faulkner* commanded the Foot, and marched at the Head of them through the Water. The Enemy fired and killed us several Men; however they saw we were resolved to have it; and so after several Fascins brought to fill up the Ditches, and smart firings on both sides, they hung out their white Flag, and agreed to march away without their Arms. Col. *Woolsey* going down to encourage the Men, was shot in the *Scrotum*, but soon recovered. We had 17 Men killed, 43 wounded, besides two Captains and an Ensign killed.

Bellingargy
taken.

Three Gentlemen
come from Dub-
lin, with an ex-
act Account of
the Posture of
Affairs there.

About the middle of May came one Capt. King, Mr. *Wingfield's* Lawyer, and Mr. *Trench* a Clergy-men, with five or six more from *Dublin*, in an open Boat, and gave the Duke a more exact Account than any he had formerly, how all things went with the *Irish*. As to the Civil Affairs, the Government was in the hands of Five

(viz.)

(viz.) my Lord Tyrconnel, Sir Stephen Rice Lord Chief Baron, Lord Chief Justice Nugent, Bruno Talbot Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Sir William Ellis. All Business in Matters Civil was done by them; and if a Protestant petitioned the late King, it was referred to those, and never any answer given, except it was indorsed on the Back: this solicited by such an One, who must be some eminent Papist, and then perhaps it was answered. These Men ordered all the Protestants Goods to be seized, that were fit for Traffick, and sent to France. The late King pretended to pay them the half value in Brass Mony, but that was scarce ever got; and often if a Man was known to have Mony, he was sent to Goal under pretence of High-Treason. Col. Simon Luttrell was Governor of Dublin. As to the Churches, the late King seemed to incline to continue Protestants in them; but what endeavours he made to restore Churches in the Country, they were frustrated; sometimes under pretence that the King had no Power in those Matters (and some say he never design'd they should) and therefore his Orders were not to be obeyed, or else his Clergy had not so easily dissuaded him from performing what he had promised, except in the Business about the Church of Limerick, wherein he observed, that when it was for the purpose of the Papists to have the Protestants turned out of Town, then they were very numerous, and consequently dangerous; but when the contrary answered their Ends, as in the Instance of desiring the Church of Limerick, then the Protestants were made very few, which he took notice of, and the Protestants at Limerick keep the Cathedral all this while. They gave an account also that our Churches were generally shut up, upon any Alarm from Sea, or Report from the Army, and the Protestants imprisoned.

As to the Military Affairs, they gave an Account, that the French about 5000 Men, came to Dublin some-time after their landing, being well armed and clothed. Soon after, the possession of the Town and Castle were given to Languan, whom the French acknowledged to serve, and not K. James; and they were generally at free Quarter upon the Protestants; nor would Monsieur Languan set his Guards in Town till he had possession of the Castle. That all care was taken to provide Clothes for the Army, by obliging the Clothiers to make so many Yards of Cloth a Month; the Hatters, Hats; the Shoemakers, Shoes, &c. And that they had considerable Stores of Corn and other Provisions at Drogheda, Trim, Navan, Dublin, Cork, Waterford, Kilkenny, Ashlone and

Limerick.

May.

The Method they proposed to deal with *K. William's* Army, was to make good the Passes upon the *Newry* Mountains, and at *Dundalk*, to spin out the War, as by Order from *Franklin*, and dispute their Ground without a general Battle: till they came to the *Royme*, and there to defend the Pass but still without a Battle, if they could help it, they hoping in a small time to hear some extraordinary thing from a Party for *K. James* in *England*, and from the *French* Fleet. Those and several other things they gave an Account of, first to the Duke, and afterwards to the King.

Towards the latter end of *May* we had several small Parties that went abroad, one to *Finnab*, and another to *Kells*, bringing off Horses, Cattle, and some Prisoners. And the 6th of *June* Count *Schenberg* came to *Belfast*. At the same time arrived our Train, some Arms, Ammunition, and 200 Carpenters and other Artificers for the Service of the Army.

June.

The King arrives in Ireland

And now the general talk and expectation was of the King's coming over, who left *Kingston* the 24th of *June*, took Shipping at *Highley* the 1st, and on the 14, being *Saturday*, he landed at *Carrickfergus* about four a Clock in the Afternoon. His Majesty went through part of the Town and viewed it; and notice being given immediately to the General, (who had prepared *Sir William Franklin's* House at *Belfast* for his Majesty's Reception, and was there attending his Landing) his Grace went in his Coach, with all speed, to wait on the King: *Maj. Gen. Kirk*, and several Officers that were there expecting the King's landing, attended the Duke; his Majesty was met by them near the *White-House*, and received them all very kindly; coming to the Duke's Coach to *Belfast*; he was met also without the Town by a great Concourse of People, who at first could do nothing but stare, never having seen a King before in that part of the World; but after a while, some of them beginning to *Heave*, the rest all took it (as Hounds do a scent) and followed the Coach through several Regiments of Foot that were drawn up in Town towards his Majesty's Lodgings; and happy were they that could but get a sight of him.

That Evening his Highness Prince *George*, the Duke of *Ormond*, my Lord of *Oxford*, my Lord *Scarborough*, my Lord *Manchester*, the Honourable Mr. *Boyle*, and a great many Persons of Quality landed; only *Maj. Gen. Serjeant* staid at *Chester* till all things were come over, who has taken a great deal of pains in our Irish Expedition. There came also some Money a-shore, but exceedingly

ly



ly short of what was hoped for. Next day the King heard a Sermon preached by Dr. Boyle, on *Abel's* 9. Through Faith they subdued Kingdom; and the same day came several of the Nobility, Officers, Gentry and Clergy to wait on his Majesty; And on Monday Night, Genl. Douglas came from Wandsworth's Ban where he had been Encamped for nigh a Fortnight; and Dr. Walker, with a great many more of the Episcopal Clergy, presented his Majesty with an Address; being introduced by Duke Schinberg and the Duke of Ormonde.

To the King's most Excellent Majesty, The humble Address of the Clergy of the Church of Ireland now in Ulster.

Great Sir, We your Majesty's Loyal Subjects, one of the dearest sense of the Blessing of this Day with most joyful hearts congratulate your Majesty's safe landing in his Kingdom, and with much joy praise God for the Success he hath already wrought in your Majesty's Affairs, so we cannot but admire and applaud Your Majesty's Endeavours to restore Religion, and the Peace of these Kingdoms. We are all imaginable Thanks to God, and Acknowledgments to your Majesty, for the Calm and Safety we have enjoyed by the Success of your Arms, under the happy and wise Management of his Grace the Duke of Schinberg, which we do not doubt but God will hear the Prayers of his Church, and crown your Majesty's Arms with such Success and Victory, that these happy beginnings of our Joy may terminate in a full Establishment of our Religion, and our Peace, and wish lasting Honours to your Majesty. May Heaven bless and preserve your Majesty in such glorious Undertakings, give Strength and prosperity to such glorious Designs, that all your Anniversaries may be so far, that your Subjects may rejoice in your easy Victory, and that all the World may admire and honour You. Give us leave Great Sir, after this most humble and grateful manner, to offer our felicitations to your Majesty, and to give all other acts of already loyalty and Duty to your Majesty, as our Religion to promote and advance your Service, and Interest to the utmost of our Power. And that we will not miss with the most happy opportunity, pray, That Heaven may, preserve your Royal Person from all Dangers, that we may long enjoy the Blessings of your Government and Victories, and that after a long and peaceful Reign here, God may change your Laurels into a Crown of Glory.

An Address presented to his Majesty.

in Great Britain

in Great Britain

The King staid at Belfast till Thursday, where on the 1st he sent out a Proclamation, encouraging all People of what Perswasion soever to live at Home peaceably, commanding the Officers and Souldiers, upon no Pretext whatever, to Rob or Plunder

June.

The Army takes
the Field.

The Enemy at
Dundalk.

A Party of ours
falls into an
Ambush.

der them. That day the King dined at *Lisburn* with the General, and then went to *Hillsborough*, where he sent out an Order on the 20th, forbidding the pressing of Horses from the Countrey People: And seeing that things did not go on so fast as he desired, he expressed some Dissatisfaction, saying, *that he did not come there to let Grass grow under his Feet.* And he made his Words good, for the whole Army now received Orders to march into the Field: on the 21st, several English Regiments met and encamped at *Loughbriland*, some being already at *Newry* with Maj. Gen. *Kirk*, and Lieut. Gen. *Douglas*, between *Hambleton's* Ban and *Tandragee* with 22 Regiments of Foot, and eight or nine of Horse and Dragoons. The Enemy had formed a Camp sometime before this at *Ardrin*, whither R. *James* came about the 18th, with 5000 French Foot, leaving Col. *Lacour* with about 6000 of the Militia in *Dublin*; who when the late King was gone, shut up all the Protestants in Prison, so that all the Churches and publick Places were full of them. About the 19th or 20th the Enemies Army came and Encamped beyond the River at *Dundalk* all along where our last Camp had been the Year before. On Sunday Morning the 22d, a Party of Col. *Levisons* Dragoons, commanded by Capt. *Crow*, and a party of Foot under Capt. *Farlow*, in all about 200, went from *Newry* towards *Dundalk* to discover the Enemy, and to see if the Ways were mended according to the Duke's Order. We had sent out several small Parties before, and the Enemy had notice of it, which occasioned them to lay an Ambuscade of about 400 Men at a place half way, where they had cast up some Works the Year before. In that next the Pass they had placed part of their Foot, and had the rest with the Horse some distance off; the Morning was very foggy and favoured their Design, so that after greatest part of our Foot were got over the Pass, and the Dragoons advanced about 200 Yards beyond it, then the *Irish* fired from the Fort, and at the same time another party charged our Dragoons, who being some of them Recruits, retreated past our own Foot, but most of them advanced again, and the Engagement was pretty sharp, yet our Party not knowing but the Enemy might have more Men in covert, retreated over the Pass and there drew up; but the *Irish* did not think fit to advance upon them. Capt. *Farlow* and another Gentleman were taken Prisoners, and we had about 22 kill'd; but the Enemy lost more, as we understood by some Deserters that came off next Day.

That

that Afternoon His Majesty, Prince George, the General, the Duke of Ormond, and all the great Men came to the Camp at *Loughbritland*. The King had given Orders before His coming, that we should remove our Camp from the South side of the Town to the North west, that His Majesty might take a View of the Regiments as they marched: the Weather was then very dry and windy, which made the Dust in our marching troublesome; I was of opinion, with several others, that this might be uneasy to a King, and therefore believed that His Majesty would sit on Horseback at a distance in some convenient place, to see the Men march by Him, but He was no sooner come, than He was in amongst the throng of them, and observed every Regiment very critically: This pleased the Soldiers mightily, and every one was ready to give what Demonstrations it was possible, both of their Courage and Dury. The King and the Prince had their moving Houses set up, and never after lay out of the Camp during Their stay in Ireland.

James:
The King comes to the Camp.

Those Houses were made of Wood, but so convenient that they could be set up in an hours time.

His Majesty lost no time, but sent Major General *Scraven-*
more (who now was come over) that Evening with 500 Horse and a good Detachment of Foot, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel *Caulfield*, to discover the Ways and observe the Enemy, they marched over part of the Barony of *Phuse*, and almost to *Dundalk*, returning the 23^d in the Evening: That Morning His Majesty with a Party of Horse went four Miles beyond *Newry*, and return'd towards the Evening to the Camp at *Loughbritland*: At His coming back some brought Him a Paper to Sign about some Wine, and other things for His Majesty's own use; but He was dissatisfied that all things for the Soldiers were not so ready as he desired, and with some heat protested, That He would drink Water rather than His Men should want. A little after His Majesty received a Letter by an *Aid du Camp* from Major General *Kirk*, Acquainting the King, That the Party he sent out that Morning went as far as *Dundalk*, and seeing no Enemy, the Officer Commanding sent a Trooper to the Mount beyond *Bedloes-Castle*, from thence he could see a great Dust towards a place called *Knock-Bridge*, by which he understood that the Enemy were marching off towards *Ardee*: His Majesty when He read the Letter did not seem to be much concerned whe-

June.



Our Army ad-
vances.

ther they had staid or not. At the same time there were two Ensigns brought to Him, who had deserted the Enemy, and gave an Account, that the Body which then was removed from *Dundalk* was about 20000. It was the discovery of our Advance Parties which made them draw off, and they gave it out that they would stay for us at the *Boyne*. The King sent Orders back to the Major General to march a Party next Morning over the Pass towards *Dundalk*.

The 24th. in the Morning Lieutenant-General *Douglas* decamped and marched over the Pass towards *Dundalk*: And that day His Majesty set out a Proclamation to be read at the Head of every Regiment, That no Officer or Soldier should forcibly take any thing from the Country People and Sutlers, nor press any Horses that were coming to the Camp, that thereby we might be the better supplied with Provisions. On the 25th. we marched from *Loughbritland* to *Newry*, where a Deserter of Sir *Henry Bellasis's* Regiment was shot. And on the 26th. towards *Dundalk*; on our march, we heard great Shooting at Sea, which we once lookt upon to be the *French* and *English* Fleets, but it was only our own Fleet coming towards *Dundalk*. We encamped that Night about a mile to the South-East of our last Years Camp: As we got near to *Dundalk* some of my Lord *Meath's* Men espied several of the *Irish* skulking, not far from the Road, to observe our march; they pursued them towards the Mountains, killed one, and took another, who proved a *French* Man that had deserted from *Hillsborough* about three weeks before. On the 27th. we marched through *Dundalk*, and encamped about a mile beyond it, where the whole Army joyned, *English, Dutch, Danes, Germans* and *French*, making in all not above 36000, though the World call'd us a third part more: but the Army was in all respects as well provided as any Kingdom in the World ever had one for the number of Men. That Afternoon, a party of *Epingar's* Dragoons came within sight of a party of the Enemies Horse, who retreated towards their own Camp, which then was on this side the *Boyne*. I was told by a General Officer of theirs since, that whensoever our Army moved, the *Irish* had a small party of Horse that knew the Country, and kept themselves undiscovered in some convenient place.

Their Number.

June:

place, to give them an Account of our motions and posture. They had fortified *Dundalk* last Winter very regularly and well, not, I suppose, that they did design to maintain it in the Spring, but to secure the Garrison from any attempts that we might make during the Winter: As we went through the Town we found several of the *Irish* that lay dead and unburied, and some were alive, but just only breathing. That evening a party of 1500 Horse and Dragoons went out, and next morning early the King followed them. His Majesty went as far as *Ardee* and viewed the Ground where the Enemy encamped last Year; He returned to His Camp that night, but left the party to make good that Post.

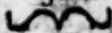
On *Saturday* morning the 29th. there hap'ned an *Irish* Man and a Woman to be near a Well that was by the King's Tent, they had got something about them which the Soldiers believed was Poyson, to spoil the Waters, and so destroy the King and His Army; this spread presently abroad, and a great many Soldiers flocked about them, they were immediately both Judges and Executioners, hanged the Woman, and almost cut the Man in pieces.

That afternoon the King views the *Danish* Forces, and early next morning, being *Sunday* the 30th. of *June*, the whole Army marched in three Lines beyond *Ardee*, which the Enemy had likewise fortified, especially the Castle; we marched within sight of the Sea a great part of this day, and could see our Ships sail all along towards *Drogheda*, which certainly must needs be a great mortification to the *Irish*: upon the Road as we marched there was a Soldier hanged for deserting, and a Boy for being a spy and a murderer; the story of this Boy is very remarkable, which was thus, About three weeks before we took the Field, one of my Lord *Drogheda's* Sergeants was gathering Wood-forrel nigh his Quarters at *Tandree*, this Boy comes to him and tells him, if he'll go along, he would take him to a place hard by, where he might get several good Herbs; he follows the Boy, and is taken by five or six *Irish* Men that were Armed, they take him to a little House and bind him, but after some good words untie his Hands, but withal kept him a prisoner, designing to carry him to *Dundalk* next day; he endeavours in the night to make his escape, and did it, though they pursued him and wounded him in several places, the Boy himself

We march to
Ardee.

A remarkable
story.

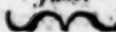
June.



self being one of the forwardest. Next week the same Boy was at *Legacory*, where he was telling some Dragoons, that if they would go along with him, he would take them to a place where they might get several Horses and a good prey of Cattle; they were very ready to hearken to him, when at the same time one of my Lord *Drogheda's* Soldiers going that way by chance, knew the Boy, (for he had been often in their Quarters) and having heard the story of the Sergeant, told it the Dragoons; upon which the Boy was seized, and after sometime confessed, that all the last *Dundalk*-Camp he had gone frequently between the two Armies, that he had traped several, and had half a Crown Brass money for every one that he could bring in; that he could observe as he went amongst our Regiments how they lay, and what condition they were in, both as to Health and other matters; that he had lately stab'd a Dragoon, in at the Back, as his Father held him in talk, and that his Father would give him nothing but the Dragoons Hat and Waste-coat, which he had then on: all this I have heard the Boy say, and much more to the same purpose, he spoke *English* and *Irish* both very well, he was brought prisoner to this place; and upon the march, after he had received Sentence of Death, he profer'd for a Brass Six-pence to hang a Country Man that was a prisoner for buying the Soldiers Shooes; and when he came to be hang'd himself, he was very little concern'd at it.

The King was always upon Action; He observed the Country as he rid along, and said it was worth Fighting for, and ordered the manner of Encamping that day himself: After that, with a small party, His Majesty before He eat or drank rid about four miles further towards the Enemy. As the Army was marching through *Ardee*, a *French* Soldier hap'n'd to be very sick with drinking Water, and despairing to live, pluckt out his Beads and fell to his Prayers; which one of the *Danes* seeing, shot the *French* Man dead, and took away his Musquet, without any further Ceremony. There were none of the *Irish* to be seen but a few poor starved Creatures who had scraped up some of the Husks of Oats nigh a Mill, to eat instead of better Food. It's a wonder to see how some of those Creatures live; I my self have seen them scratching like Hens amongst the Cinders for Victuals; which put me in mind of a story that I have

June.



have read in the Annals of Ireland, where it is said, that in the year 1317. the *Ulster* Irish roved up and down the Kingdom in a Body, whilst the Scots Army was down towards *Limerick*, and those people were so hunger-starved at last, that in Church-yards they took the Bodies out of their Graves, and in their Skulls boild the Flesh and fed thereupon, and women did eat their own Children for hunger, so that of ten thousand, there remained at last only three hundred, the reason of this plague the Superstition of those Times attributed to their eating of flesh in Lent, for which this Curse came upon them.

By this time his Majesty understood that all the Irish Army was marched over the *Boyn*, the night before, except flying parties, so that on Monday morning, the last of June, very early, our whole Army began to move in three Lines towards the *Boyn*, which was but eight short miles off. The Enemy being near, our advance Guards of Horse, commanded by Sir *John Lanier*, made their approaches very regularly, and by that time they had got within two miles of *Drogheda*, his Majesty was in the front of them : Some of our Dragoons went into an old House, where they found about 200 Scythes stretch'd out upon Beams, which the Irish, either had forgot, or had not time to carry over, they brought one of them to the King, who smiled, and said it was a desperate weapon.

The Irish Army beyond the Boyn.

Our advance.

A little way further there was an Hill, to the East of the Enemies Camp, and North from the Town ; upon this His Majesty went, from whence he could see the Town, and all the Enemies Camp which lay to the West of the Town, all along the River side in two Lines, here his Majesty had a great deal of discourse with the Prince, Duke *Schomberg*, Duke of *Ormond*, Count *Solmes*, Major General *Scravemore*, my Lord *Sidney*, and other great Officers, who were all curious in making their Observations upon the Enemy, Major General *Scravemore* called them *une petite Armee* (for we could not reckon above five or six and forty Regiments that lay Encamped) his Majesty Answered, that they might have a great many men in Town, that there was also an Hill to the Southwest, beyond which they might have men Encamped, and that possibly they did not shew all their Numbers however he said he was resolved to see very soon what they were. Such a great Prince, knowing that to be warm in undertaking a great Design, and cool in justifying it, when it comes

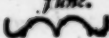
His Majesty views their Army.

June.

to a push, is seldom attended with Success or Reputation, his Majesty therefore went boldly on, and obtain'd both.

By this time our Horse were advancing a pace, and the Enemy we could discern were all in a hurry, to get up their Horses, which were many of them at Grass, and to set all things in order; his Majesty sent out several parties of Horse, some towards the Town of *Drogheda*, and some towards the pass at *Old Bridge*, and then rid softly along westward, viewing the Enemies Camp as he passed, he made a little stop towards some old Houses and every one commended mightily the order of our Horse marching in, here it was that the Enemy fired their first Guns, from a Battery of six Canons, that they had a good way below, but they did no hurt; two of our Troopers, went to the very Ford, and took away an Horse, as also a Barrel of Ale that the *Irish* had been taken over.

His Majesty rid on to the pass at *Old Bridge*, and stood upon the side of the Bank within Musquet shot of the Ford, there to make his observations on the Enemies Camp and posture, there stood a small party of the Enemies Horse in a little Island within the River, and on the other bank there were several Hedges, and little *Irish* Houses almost close to the River; there was one House likewise of Stone, that had a Court, and some little works about it, this the *Irish* had filled with Souldiers, and all the Hedges, and little Houses we saw, were lined and filled with Musquiteers, there were also several Breft works cast up to the right, just at the Ford. However, this was the place thro' which his Majesty resolved to force his way, and therefore he and his great Officers spent some time in contriving the methods of passing, and the places where to plant our Batteries. After some time, his Majesty rid about 200 yards further up the River, nigh the West of all the Enemies Camp, and whilst his Army was marching in, he alighted, and sat him down upon a rising ground, where he refreshed himself, whilst his Majesty sat there, we observed five Gentlemen of the *Irish* Army, ride softly along the other side, and make their Remarks upon our Men as they marched in, those I heard afterwards, were the Duke of *Berwick*, my Lord *Tyrconnel*, *Sarsfield*, *Parker*, and some say *Lauzun*. Captain *Pownel* of Colonel *Levisons* Regiment was sent with a party of Horse and Dragoons towards the Bridge of *Slane*, and whilst his Majesty sat



sate on the Grass (being about an hour) there came some of the *Irish* with long Guns, and shot at our Dragoons, who went down to the River to Drink, and some of ours went down to return the favour; then a party of about forty Horse, advanced very slowly, and stood upon a plowed field over against us, for near half an hour, and so retired to their Camp; this small party, (as I have heard from their own Officers since) brought two Field Pieces amongst them, dropping them by an Hedge on the plowed Land, undiscover'd; they did not offer to fire them, till his Majesty was mounted, and then he and the rest riding softly the same way back, their Gunner fires a Piece, which kill'd us two Horses and a Man about 100 yards above where the King was, but immediately comes a second, which had almost been a fatal one, for it grazed upon the Bank of the River, and in the rising slanted upon the Kings right shoulder, took out a piece of his Coat; and tore the Skin and Flesh, and afterward broke the head of a Gentlemans Pistol.

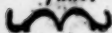
Mr. Coningsby (now one of the Lords Justices of Ireland) seeing his Majesty struck, rid up and put his handkerchief upon the place, his Majesty took little notice of it, but rid on for about forty yards further, where there was an high Bank on either side, but it being open below, we returned the very same way again, the Enemies Canon firing upon us all the while, they did some damage amongst our Horse that were drawing up just before them, killing two of the Guards, and about nine of Coll. Coys Horses with three Troopers, and also some few more out of Coll. Byrleys, and other Regiments, which made the King give orders for his Horse to draw a little backwards, to have the advantage of a rising ground between them and the Canon.

The King wounded.

When the Enemy saw their great Shot disturbed us, they set up a most prodigious shout all over the Camp, as if our whole Army had been undone, and several Squadrons of their Horse drew down upon a plain towards the River, but in such a place as they knew it was impossible for us to come at them, the River being very deep and a Bank of nigh ten yards high on our side. I have often observed the *Irish* very fond of shouting and Hallowing before an Engagement, and there is a Tradition amongst them, that whosoever does not Shout and Huzzah as the rest do in Battle, he's suddainly caught up from the ground.

into.

June.



into the Air, and so into a certain desert vale in the County of Kerry, where he eateth Grass and lapeth Water, hath some use of reason, but not of Speech, but shall be caught at length by Hunters and their Hounds, and so brought home, but this story is a little too light for so grave an Author as *Cambden*, tho' he only relates it as a foolish fancy.

The King went to change his Coat, and get his shoulder dressed, and then rid about to see his Army come in, which were all this while marching, and encamping in two Lines. And here I cannot but take notice of a signal peice of Providence in the preservation of the Kings Person, for whatever ill effects it might have had for the future, it would have been of fatal consequence to the Army at that time, if he had fallen, since instead of our going to them, the Irish would have been ready to have come to us next morning, and how we would have received them there's none can tell. I have met with several that will not believe, that the King was touched with a Canon Bullet at all, and if so, that it was impossible it should not kill him, but I was present when the thing hapned, and therefore can affirm the truth of it. I have seen a great many odd accidents in wounds with Canon Bullets, and yet the Parties live, particularly one of my Lord *Drogheda's* Men, who had all the Flesh of his right Cheek shot from the bone without breaking his Jaw, and he's yet alive and very well. Tho' it seems at the Court of *France*, they could not believe any such thing, when they made Bone-fires for King *Williams* death.

But to go on with the Story, about three a Clock the first of our Field Pieces came up, and we lost no time, but took two or three of them down towards the River, and Planted them on a Furry bank over against the pass, the first shot (made by one *Nelson*) we kill'd an Officer, that lay sick in the House beyond the River, and the second or third, we dismounted one of those Field Pieces that the Irish had been so brisk withal, and then their Horse that were drawn up towards the River made what haste they could into the Camp; we continued all that afternoon pelting at them and they at us, their Canon did us little more harm, but our Gunners planted several Batteries, and threw a great many small Bombs into their Camp, which obliged them to remove some of their Tents, one Bullet as we heard afterwards fell very nigh a Crowd of great Officers, that were at the



the late Kings Tent, and kill'd a Horseman that stood Centinel, they then removed their Counsel to some other place, and were not admitted to crowd there any more. A French Adan of ours, that afternoon, run thro the River before our faces to the Enemy. When they saw him coming, a great many of them came down to receive him, and crowding about him to hear news, our Canon threw a Bullet amongst the very thickest of them, which kill'd several, and as twas said the Fellow himself, however the rest made what hast they could back again. We had some Deferters also that came from them to us, but I heard of no more that left our Army, except that one man. There was one Deferter that gave the King an account, that the Enemy were about 25000 Men, and that they had sent away part of their heavy Baggage towards Dublin.

The King calls
a Counsel of
War.

About 8 or 9 a Clock at night, the King called a Council of War, wherein he declared, that he was resolved to pass the River the next day, which Duke *Schomberg* at first opposed but seeing his Majesty positive in it, he advised to send part of our Army that night at 12 a Clock, to pass the River at, or near *Slane-bridge*, some three miles above, and so to get between the Enemy and the pass at *Duleek*, which was about four miles behind them, but this advice was not taken. One thing under consideration was, where to get Guides that were trusty and good, whilst this matter was in question, my Lord *George Hamblaton* was by, who immediately brought four or five of his *Irish* killing Officers that knew the Fords very well, and took upon them to Guide the Army next day, and here it was concluded how the Army should March, and who should Command at the different Posts, which was ordered thus, Lieutenant General *Douglas* was to Command the Right wing of the Foot, and Count *Schomberg* the Horse, who were to march early, towards the Bridge of *Slane* and other Fords above to flank the Enemy, or get between them and *Duleek*, my Lord *Portland*, and my Lord *Owenkirk* had their Posts here as Mareschals de Camp, the left wing of our Horse were to pass between the Enemies Camp and *Drogheda*, whilst in the mean time a Body of Foot forced their way at the Pass at *Old Bridge*.

The Enemy held likewise a Council of War, wherein Lieutenant General *Hamblaton* advised to send a party of Dragoons to a Ford that was below the Town of *Drogheda* (which we either

M

knew

June. knew not of, or else did not regard) and all the rest (being eight Regiments) with their whole left line towards the Bridge of *Slane*. King *James's* Answer was that he would send fifty Dragoons up the River, which the other seem'd to be Amazed at, the place to be defended, being of such importance; however they resolv'd to defend the *Pailes*, and if it were possible to retreat with their Army towards *Dublin*, in order to which they drew off most of their Canon in the night.

Orders that night.

Towards the close of the Evening, the Canons ceased on both sides, and Orders were given out that every Souldier should be provided with a good stock of Ammunition, and all to be ready at the break of day, to March at a minutes warning, with every man a green Bough or Sprig in his Hat, to distinguish him from the Enemy (who wore pieces of paper in their Hats) All the Baggage with the Souldiers great Coats, were to be left behind with a small Guard in every Regiment to look after them. The word that night was *Westminster*, his Majesty was not idle, but about 12 a Clock at night, rid with torches quite through his Army, and then

July.

The Battle at the Boyne.

Our Right wing draws out.

Tuesday the first of *July 1690*. The day was very clear, as if the Sun it self had a mind to see what would happen; about six a Clock, Lieutenant General *Douglas* marched towards the Right with the Foot, and Count *Schonberg* with the Horse, which the Enemy perceiving, drew out their Horse and Foot towards their Left, in order to oppose us: the Right wing at first were ordered to pass all at *Slane*, but being better inform'd, several Regiments were Commanded to pass at other Fords between our Camp and that place. As some of our Horse marched to the River, there stood a Regiment of the Enemies Dragoons (sent thither over night) nigh the Bank on the other side who fired upon us, and then thought to have retreated to their main Body, but before they could do that, they were flanked in a Lane, and about seventy of them cut off; we met with little more opposition in passing the River but marching forwards we found the Enemy drawn up in two lines: we had then twenty four Squadrons of Horse and Dragoons, with six Battalions of Foot, those being too few, Lieutenant general *Douglas* sent for more Foot, and in the mean time we drew up in two lines also, my Lord *Portland* advising for

for the more security to mix our Horse and Foot, Squadron with Battalion; (this is no new way of managing, but was first practised by *Cæsar* at the Battle of *Pharsalia* against *Pompey*, for he there quite altered the manner of embattleing amongst the *Romans*, covering one of his Flanks with a small River, and then placing several Battallions of his best Foot amongst his Squadrons in the other, by which he soon routed *Pompeys* Horse, and then falling into the Flanks, and Rear of his Enemy, obtained the Victory.) However more Foot coming up, our great Officers altered the first Figure, and drew all the Horse to the right, by which they outflanked the Enemy considerably. But as our men were advanceing, they met with a great deal of difficulty in the Ground, for there were large Corn Fields, with great Ditches, and those very hard to be got over, (especially for the Horse, who were obliged to advance in order, when they were in the face of an Enemy,) and beyond all those, there was such a Bogg, as few of our men ever saw before; the Horse tho' went to the right of it, but the Foot being Commanded to march through, found it as great an hardship as Fighting it self, yet when the Enemy saw our men take the Bog, instead of charging them in it, they retreated in hast towards *Duleek*, which Count *Schonberg* seeing, fell in amongst their Foot with his Horse and kill'd a great many:

The King did not know of this disadvantage of Ground, but computed the time when he thought our right wing was got well over, and then he ordered his Foot to attack the pass at *Old Bridge*; during all which a great part of the Enemies Horse and Foot were still marching towards *Slane*, (where every one expected the main Battle would be,) and in their march, our Canon plaid continually upon them, yet tho we kill'd several it did not disorder their Troops. The blew Dutch guards post being to the right, they were the first that took the River at *Old Bridge*: The *Irish* had lined the Houses, Breastworks, and Hedges beyond the River, with my Lord *Tyrconnells* Regiment of Foot Guards, and some other Companyes; they had posted also seven Regiments of Foot, about 150 yards backwards, who stood drawn up behind some little hills, to shelter them from our Canon, which played all this while, besides these, were 2 Troops of Guards, 4 Troops of my Lord *Tyrconnells*, and 4 Troops of *Parkers* Regiments of Horse, posted in the same manner, (tho if

July.

The Dutch
Guards take
the River,

And are charg-
ed by a Squa-
dran of Horse.

they had posted the *French* here instead of the *Irish* it would have been more to their advantage, but the reason of this was, the *Irish* Guards would not lose the post of Honour.) The *Dutch* beat a march till they got to the *Rivers* side, and then the Drums ceasing, in they went, some eight or ten a breast, being presently almost up to the middle in the Stream (for they stopt the Current by their sudden motion, and this made it deeper than usual) the Enemy did not fire till our Men were towards the midst of the River, and then a whole peal of Shot came from the Hedges, Breast-works, Houses, and all about, yet we could not perceive any fall except one, and another stagger'd; he that was foremost was a Lieutenant of Granadeers, who as he got footing on the other side, drew up two files of men, then stoopt, and they fired over him at the next hedge, which was not fifteen yards from them, at which fire those in the Hedge quitted it, which the rest seeing, all left their Posts, and were followed with a Volley of Shot from our men that were Advancing. The *Irish* Foot run scattering into the next Field, and before the *Dutch* could get well over, and draw up, they were charged very bravely by a Squadron of the *Irish* Horse, who came down in a full career, but were quickly beat off again. One would have thought that Men and Horses had risen out of the Earth, for now there appeared a great many Battalions and Squadrons of the Enemy, all on a suddain, who had stood behind the little Hills. We had two *French* Regiments, and Collonel St. John's, who passed the River near the same time the *Dutch* did, but about 100 Yards below; which Lieutenant-General Hambleton perceiving, (who commanded at the Pass) he Advanced with a party of Foot to the very River, and himself with some others went into it, giving orders at the same time for my Lord Antrim's Regiment, and some more, to go and Flank Sir John Hammer and Count Nassau's Regiments, who were passing about 200 Yards further down; but neither would his men stand by him, nor could the other be perswaded to come near Hammer: however, as Hambleton retreated a Squadron of their Horse charged our *French* so bravely, that about forty of them broke quite through Monsieur La Callimot's Regiment, and wounded himself mortally: those must go back the same way, or else pass through the Village and so wheel to the Left, to recover their own Men; they chose the latter, but

but were so paid off by some of the *Dutch* and *Innickillin* Foot, that not above six or eight of them got beyond the Village, most of their Horses stragling up and down the Fields.

July.

The *Dutch* and the rest of our Foot advanced all this while, and then the *Irish* Foot quitted a second Hedge that they were perswaded to rally to; another Body of Horse came down upon the *Dutch*, who neglected the Hedges and met them in the open Field, but keeping so close that it was impossible to break them; but as the *Irish* came on, the *Dutch* began to fire by Platoons, and both flanked and fronted the Horse, by which they killed a great many (though not without some loss to themselves) before this party drew off: By this time some of the *French* and *Innickilliners* were got into the Field, from whence the Enemy disturb'd us with their Canon the day before, and then a fresh Squadron of Horse coming down upon the *Dutch*, those two Regiments stopt them, and obliged them to Retreat with considerable loss. Much about this time there was nothing to be seen but Smoak and Dust, nor any thing to be heard but one continued Fire for nigh half an hour; and whilst this Action lasted, another party of the *Irish* Horse Charged Sir *John Hammer* as he passed the River, (nigh a place where the Enemy the day before had a Battery of six Guns, but now they were gone, as was most of their Artillery:) It was the Duke of *Berwick's* Troop of Guards; and as they advanced, one that had been formerly in Sir *J. Hammer's* Regiment came out singly and called one of the Captains by his name; who stepping towards him, the other fired both his Pistols at him, but was taken Prisoner: this Troop was beat off again with the loss of only three of Sir *John Hammer's* Men.

Our Foot Advance beyond the River.

Are Charged again.

All our Horse went over to the Right and Left except one Squadron of *Danes*, who passed the River whilst our Foot were engaged, and Advancing to the Front, *Hambleton* sent out sixty Horse, who charged the *Danes* so home that they came faster back again than they went, some of them never looking behind them till they had crossed the River again. The want of Horse was so apparent at this place, that the very Country People cry'd out Horse, Horse; which word going towards the Right, and they mistaking it for *Halt*, stopt the Right Wing nigh half an hour: which time, well spent, might

July.

The General
killed.

might have done service: This and the *Irish* breaking through the *French* Regiment hap'n'd much about a time; which, I am apt to believe, was the occasion of Duke *Schonberg's* going over so unseasonably, for in this hurry he was killed near the little Village beyond the River: the *Irish* Troopers as they rid by, struck at him with their Swords; and some say that our own Men Firing too hastily, when the Duke was before them, shot him themselves; however it was, his mortal wound was through his Neck, and he had one or two cuts in the Head besides, he fell down and did not speak one word; and Captain *Foubert* was shot in the Arm as he was getting him off; Doctor *Walker* going, as some say, to look after the Duke, was shot a little beyond the River, and stript immediately; for the *Scotch-Irish* that followed our Camp were got through already, and took off most of the Plunder.

This Action begun at a quarter past Ten, and was so hot till past Eleven that a great many old Soldiers said they never saw brisker work: but then the *Irish* retreated to a rising Ground, and there drew up again in order, both Horse and Foot, designing to Charge our Party again that had past the River. Whilst this Action at the Pass lasted, the Left Wing of our Horse (consisting of *Danes* and *Dutch*, with Collonel *Woolley's* Horse and some Dragoons) passed the River at a very difficult and unusual place: And the *Danish* Foot, with Collonel *Cutti's* and some others, went over a little above them. My Lord *Sydney* and Major-General *Kirk* went from one place to another, as the posture of Affairs required their presence. His Majesty, during those Transactions, was almost every where; before the Action begun He rid between our Army and theirs with only one Dragoon, and had ordered every thing in other places as well as possible, He passes the River with the Left Wing of His Horse, and that with as much difficulty as any body, for His Horse was Bogg'd on the other side, and He was forced to alight till a Gentleman helpt him to get His Horse out. As soon as the Men were got upon the other Bank, and put in order, His Majesty drew His Sword (which yet was troublesome to Him, His Arm being stiff with the Wound He received the day before) and marched at the Head of them towards the Enemy, who were coming on again in good order upon our Foot that

His Majesty
passes the Ri-
ver with the
Left Wing.

July.



that had got over the Pass, and were Advancing towards them, though they were double our Number; but when these two Bodies were almost within Musquet shot of one another, the Enemy espied the Left Wing of our Horse marching towards them, at which they made a suddain Halt, faced about, and so retreated up the Hill to a little Church and a Village called *Dunore*, about half a mile from the Pass; our Men marched in order after them; and at this Village the Enemy faced about and Charged; our Horse were forced to give Ground, though the King was with them: His Majesty then went to the *Imiskillimers* and askt what they would do for Him? and Advanced before them; their Officer told his Men who it was, and what Honour was done them: At the Head of those Men the King received the Enemies Fire, and then wheeling to the Left, that His own Men might have liberty to Advance and fire, they all wheeled after Him and retreated above 100 Yards; the King then went to the Left, to put Himself at the Head of some *Dutch* that were Advancing; and the *Imiskillimers* being sensible of their mistake, came up again, doing good service: some of Duke *Schomberg's* French Horse were here also, who behaved themselves well, and took one or two of King *James's* Standards. Another party, Commanded by Lieutenant-General *Ginkel*, Charged in a Lane to the Left, but the *Irish* being two many for them they retreated; which a party of Sir *Albert Cunningham's* Dragoons, commanded by his Lieutenant-Collonel, and another of Col. *Levison's*, commanded by Captain *Brewerton*, perceiving, the Officers ordered their Men to alight and Line an Hedge, as also an old House that Flankt the Lane, from whence they poured in their Shot upon the Enemy. Lieutenant-General *Ginkel* staid in the Rear of his Men, (being much vext at their retreating) and was in some danger by our own Dragoons; for the Enemy being close upon him, they could not well distinguish; however the Dragoons did here a piece of good service in stopping the Enemy, (who came up very boldly;) and our Horse Rallying both here and to the Right, after near half an hours dispute the Enemy were again beat from this place, and a great many of them killed. Lieutenant-General *Hambleton* finding his Foot not to answer his expectation, he put himself at the Head of the Horse, and when

And Charges
several times at
the Head of his
Men.

July.

Lieutenant-
General Ham-
bleton taken
Prisoner.

when they were defeated he was here taken prisoner, having received a wound on the Head. When he was brought to the King, His Majesty asked him, Whether the *Irish* would fight any more? Yes, (said he) an't please Your Majesty, upon my Honour I believe they will, for they have a good Body of Horse still. The King lookt a little aside at him when he named his Honour, and repeated it once or twice, *Your Honour*? Intimating (as He always says a great deal in few words) that what the other affirmed upon his Honour was not to be believed, since he had forfeited that before in his siding with my Lord *Tyrconnell*; and this was all the Rebuke the King gave him for his breach of Trust. There were several other prisoners taken here also, but not many of note.

How things
went in the
night of our
Army.

Now, you must know, that whilst all this hap'n'd here, our Men on the Right were making their way as well as they could over Hedges, and Bogs towards *Duleek*, and as they Advanced the Enemy drew off, till they heard what had hap'n'd at the Pass, and then they made greater haste, yet they could not retreat so fast but several of them were killed, especially of their Foot, amongst whom a party of our Horse fell in; but they presently scatter'd amongst the Corn and Hedges till they got beyond a great Ditch, where our Horse could not follow. Colonel *Lewis*, with a party of his Dragoons, got between some of the Enemies Horse and *Duleek* and killed several, yet if they had not minded retreating more than fighting he might have come off a loser. When most of them were over the Pass they drew up and fired their great Guns upon us; and we ours upon them, though we could not easily come at them with our small Shot, (for there are several Boggy Fields with Ditches at *Duleek*, and in the midst of these a deep strait Rivulet, very soft in the bottom and high Banks on each side, there is only one place to get over, and there not above six can go a breast.)

Their confusion, however, was so great, that they left a great many Arms, and a considerable quantity of Ammunition in that Village of *Duleek*, and, indeed, all the Country over; but our Men were so foolish as to blow up the Powder wherever they met with it, and few or none of the Men escaped that came in their Hands, for they shot them like

Hares

Hares amongst the Corn, and in the Hedges as they found them in their march.

By that time therefore a Body of our Horse was got over the Pass, that was sufficient to Attack the Enemy, they were gone at least a mile before, their Horse and Artillery in the Rear; and their Foot marching in great haste and confusion; we went after them for at least three miles, but did not offer to Attack them any more, because of the Ground. Then night coming on, the King, with some of the Horse, return'd to the Foot that were Encamping at *Duleek*; but the greatest part of them remained at their Arms all night, where they left off the pursuit.

July.
Reasons why
so few killed.

On the *Irish* side were killed my Lord *Dungan*, my Lord *Carlingford*, Sir *Neal O Neal*, with a great many more Officers; they lost at the Pass, at *Dunmore*, *Duleek*, and all the Fields adjoining, between 1000 and 1500 men; one thing was observable, that most of their Horse-men that charged so desperately were drunk with Brandy, each man that morning having received half a Pint to his share; but it seems the Foot had not so large a proportion, or at least they did not deserve it so well.

On our side were killed nigh four hundred. The Dutch *Granadeers* told me, before we got to the Church at *Dunmore*, that they had lost seventeen, and the rest proportionably; the *French* also lost several, but all this was nothing in respect of Duke *Schomberg*, who was more considerable than all that were lost on both sides; whom his very Enemies always called a Brave Man, and a Great General. I have heard several reasons given for the Dukes passing the River at that juncture: but, doubtless, his chief design was to encourage the *French*, whom he had always loved, and to rectifie some mistakes that he might see at a distance: However 'twas, this I'm certain of, that we never knew the value of him till we really lost him, which often falls out in such cases; and since it was in our Quarrel that he lost his life, we cannot too much Honour his Memory, which will make a considerable Figure in History whilst the World lasts. He was certainly a Man of the best Education in the World, and knew Men and Things beyond most of his time, being Courteous and Civil to every Body, and yet had something always that look'd so Great in him, that he commanded respect from men of all Qualities and Stations. Nor did we

July.

know any fault that he had, except we might be jealous he sometimes was too obliging to the *French*: As to his person, he was of a middle stature, well proportion'd, fair complexion'd, a very sound hardy man of his age, and sat on a Horse the best of any man; he loved constantly to be in his Clothes, and in his Conversation he was always pleasant: he was fourscore and two when he died, and yet when he came to be unbowelled, his Heart, Intrails and Brain, were as fresh and as sound as if he had been but twenty; so that it's probable he might have lived several Years, if Providence had not ordered it otherways: Monsieur *Callimat*, an honest worthy Gentleman, died soon after him of his Wounds, having follow'd that great Man in all his Fortunes.

Some who pretend to more skill than possibly they are really Masters of, will needs affirm, that there were two oversights committed at this time; one in not pursuing the Enemy closser after they were once broke, which had been less hazardous, considering all things then what followed afterwards; my Lord of *Oxford* and my Lord *Portland* were for sending three thousand Horse, with each a Musqueteer behind him, to fall upon them in the Rear as they retreated, which might have done great matters; for the Enemy were in such a Consternation that they marched all that night in great fear and confusion, expecting us at their Heels every minute. But those that have seen the Ground at *Duleek*, and thereabouts, will say that it's scarce possible to make an orderly pursuit at such a place; for whilst an Enemy continues in a Body, there's no going after them as if Men were a Fox-hunting, since nothing encourages even a flying Enemy more to rally and fight again, than to see a disorderly pursuit of them: The Passes therefore were so narrow and troublesome, that before we could get over a Body of Men, sufficient to attack the Enemy, they were got a mile or two before us, and new difficulties between us and them: nor was the case the same with them, for they got over any where as well as they could, except the Rear, who kept their order as far as we could see them. As for his Majesty himself, he chose the Field, drew up his Army, gave his General Orders to his Officers, and the best Orders wherever he was in Person; but the greatest Captain that ever was, or will be, is not, nor can be, of himself sufficient,

July.

ent, to redress all Disorders, or lay hold on all Advantages in an instant, when Armies are once engaged. And further, his Majesty having committed a considerable part of his Orders to the care of his General, the death of him must needs be a disadvantage to the whole Army.

Another thing they pretend to find fault with was, in not sending ten thousand Men immediately from the *Boyne* towards *Asblone* and *Limerick*, since we were as nigh those places here as at *Dublin*; and if we had gone behind them, *Limerick* and *Galloway* would certainly have yielded, for it was at least a fortnight before any number of their Army got thither, and then (they say) the *Irish* Army must either have fought again in the Field or else submitted, since *Dublin* is not to be kept by those that are not Masters of the Field. But there are very good reasons why this was not done, for his Majesty knew at this time that the *French* Fleet was hovering nigh the *English* Coast, and therefore would not divide his Army, nor draw them from the Sea; nor did his Majesty know as yet whether the *Irish* would not stay for him between that and *Dublin*, and so fight again. And before he was assur'd of it, the News of the *French* Fleets success at Sea, altered both his and the *Irish* Peoples measures; for this put them into heart again, especially when it came with a report (spread a broad, I suppose, on purpose) that King *William* was dead, as well as Duke *Schonberg*, and that the Dauphin of *France* was landed with an Army in *England*. But though there was little of Truth in these reports, yet they animated the *Irish*, (who of all men living are the soonest discouraged, but up again with the least hopes,) and to work they went in making provisions to defend their Towns, especially beyond the *Shannon*; but this I'm afraid will be thought impertinent, at least it's out of order, and therefore to return.

King *James*, during part of the Action at the *Boyn*, stood at the little old Church upon the Hill called *Dunmore*, but when he saw how things were like to go, he marched off to *Duleek*, and from thence towards *Dublin*: the first news that went to that place, was, That K. *James* had got the day, our General killed, and the Prince of *Orange* (as they call'd him) taken prisoner; this was very afflicting to the poor Protestants who were

King James's
Carriage at the
Battle and af-
ter.

July.

shut up in Prisons all over the Town: but towards night they observed several Officers come to Town in great confusion, some wounded, and others looking very dull upon the matter, which they thought were no signs of Victory, and then begun to hope better things. About nine a Clock King James came to Dublin, with about two hundred Horse with him, all in disorder. My Lady Tyrconnel met him at the Castle-gate, and after he was up-stairs, her Ladyship askt him what he would have for Supper? who then gave her an Account of what a Breakfast he had got, which made him have but little stomach to his Supper: He staid all Night in the Castle, and next Morning sending for the Lord Mayor and some others, he told them, 'That in *England* he had an Army which durst have fought, but they proved false and deserted him; and that here he had an Army which was Loyal enough, but would not stand by him; he was now necessitated to provide for his Safety, and that they should make the best Terms for themselves that they could, and not to burn or injure the Town; and immediately after took Horse, and with about twelve in Company went towards *Bray*, and so to *Waterford*, where he took Shipping for *France*. The Irish Horse came most of them into *Dublin* that Night, and most of the Foot next Morning. And before Night on *Wednesday* they were all gone, taking the City Militia along, who were all Papists; but they released all the Prisoners, not out of love to them, but for fear lest we had been at their Heels.

Some say that K. James sent Sir Patrick Trans, and another Gentleman towards *Waterford* to provide Shipping for him beforehand, for fear of the worst, but I have not heard the certainty of it: However this was not the way that Heroes used formerly to take in *England*, for the *Romans* burnt their Ships when they landed there; that their Men might have no hopes of a Retreat, but to conquer or die: And so did the Duke of Normandy, who soon after got the name of Conquerour. But King William gave his Army better proofs of his Courage and Conduct, nor can I pretend to be able to give his Majesty the just commendation his merit forces from his very Enemies, only this I am sure of, that he dare do any thing, and has not a Soul subject to fear, or any thing thats below a Prince, never

never had an Army a better opinion of a King, than ours of him, their only fear was that he would expose himself too far, and whatever difference happens between him and them can be only this, that they desire to stand between his Majesty and all danger. But he alwayes has a mind to put himself between them and it, may we long therefore have such a General in a King, and he not only Souldiers, but Subjects of all professions, that love him as well. Prince George accompanied his Majesty in most of his dangers; and in the greatest of them, was always near him, and nothing but the bravery of such a King, could hinder him, of the greatest Character in this Account. As to our *English* Forces, there were few of them, that had an opportunity at this place, to shew themselves, but those that had, acquitted themselves very well, the *French* and *Dunkinners* did good service, and to give the *Dutch* Guards their due, they deserve immortal honour for what they did that day. I enquired at severall, who they were that managed the retreat, the *Irish* made that day so much to their advantage, for (not to say worse of them then they deserve) it was in good order so far as we could see them, (I mean with the Horse, and *French* Foot,) whatsoever they did afterwards, but I could hear of none in particular, only Lieutenant Gen. *Hambleton* says, it was my Lord *Gilmore*, who is not thought an extraordinary Souldier; but this is certain that the *French* were towards the left of their Army that day, and so did little or no service, except it was in the retreat, whereas if they had posted them, instead of the *Irish* Foot, at the Pass, we had found warmer work of it. But Providence orders all things, and amongst those the Counsels of the greatest.

The night after the Battle we lay upon our Arms at *Duleek*, and next morning were sent a Party back out of every Regiment, to fetch up our Tents and Baggage from beyond the *Burn*: As likewise Brigadier *La Miskimier* was sent with a Party of a thousand Horse and Dragoons, about three hundred Foot, and eight peice of Canon to summon *Drogheda*.

The Governour received the first Summons very indifferently, but then he had word sent, that if he forced the Canon to be fired on them, they should have no quarter: The Governour at length considered better of it, and believing the *Irish* Army to be totally routed, he surrendered upon Condition to

Drogheda surrendered.



An Impartial History

be conducted to the next Garrison, which was *Arlona*. And the next day about 1300. of them marched out without their Arms, having a Convoy according to Agreement. Colonel Carr's Men took possession of the Place, where they found good store of wine and other things that were considerable, and took great care to preserve the Town from any violence of the Soldiers. This Town is one of the best in *Ireland*, unto which King *Edward* the Second, for *Theobald Verdens* sake, granted License for a Market and Fair, and succeeding Kings confirmed many and great Priviledges to it, amongst others that of a Mint. *Cromwell* at his first landing in *Ireland* took it by Storm, and put above 2000. men to the Sword in it. The River *Boyn* runs thro the Town, which takes its name from *Swift* running, for *Boyn* both in *Irish* and *British* signifies *Swift*, as the Learned say. Its a great and rapid River, and whatever it has been formerly it will be famous in succeeding Ages for this Action. I have shewn the spot of ground to some who design to erect a Pillar where the King escaped so narrowly, to perpetuate so memorable an Action. Near the ground, where we encamp, stands *St. Bernard's* Abby, founded in the year 1168. by *Donald* King of *Leinster*, and is much praised by *St. Bernard*, it was given afterwards by Queen *Elizabeth* to Sir *Edward More* of *Kent*, for his good service in the Wars both at home and abroad, and is now the Seat of the Earl of *Drogheda*.

But this I'm afraid will be thought a little out of my present role, and therefore *Monday*, the 2 of *July*, we marched not above a mile, to convenient Ground, and there pitched our Tents. I remember we had a kind of Alarm that afternoon, and some say it was five Troops of Horse, and three Regiments of Foot, that came from *Munster* to joyn King *Jamess* Army, who appeared in the flank of us, but sending two Spies to all cover, who we were, they were taken and hanged, tho the Party marched off untouched. Mounseur *Cambon* had almost for his own and my Lord *Drogheda's* Regiment by the Ears by ordering a Detachment of his men to take away by force the Grass from the Rear of the other Regiment. The matter came so high, that both Parties were charging their Peeces, but my Lord *Drogheda* ordered his men to their Tents, and Lieut. Gen. *Douglas* ordered Mounseur *Cambon* to desist from his pretensions, this might have been of dangerous consequence, and yet my Lord

of the Affairs of Ireland.

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Lord was so kind to Mounseur *Cambden*, as not to acquaint the King with it.

July.
King William
marches toward
Dublin.

On *Thursday* the 3. of *July*, his Majesty marched forwards with his Army to a place called *Bally Breghon*, and there encamped; on his march he had an account by one *Mr. Sanders*, (whom the Bishop of *Meath*, *Dr. King*, *Captain Fitz Gerald*, and other Protestants, that had taken upon them, the protection of the City, had sent for that purpose) that the *Irish* had left *Dublin*: towards which the Duke of *Ormond* marched with 1000 Horse, and found *Captain Berkeley* Governour, who two days before had been a Prisoner. The *Dutch* Guards were sent also, who took possession of the Castle, as the Duke of *Ormond* did of the out Guards of the Town with his Horse, next day we lay Encamped, and above 300 Citizens came out from *Dublin*, to wait upon the King, and to welcome our Army; and abundance of people flocked from all places, to see our Camp. The Country all hereabouts, is most of it Inhabited with old *English*, and is called *Fingal*, that is a Nation of Foreigners: Its scarce worth the Relating what is writ in the *Irish* Annals of a Country man nigh this place, that in the year 1341, found a pair of Gloves, in drawing on of which, he Barked like a Dog, and from that present, the Elder in that Country Barked like big Dogs, and the young ones like Whelps, and this continued with some for eighteen dayes, with others a month, and with some for two years, and entred also into several other places; and they tell you likewise of the men in the County of *Tipperary*, being turn'd into Wolves at a certain time of the year; but these are trifles, for they are commonly Dogs or Wolves in their Nature, but no otherways.

Encamps at
Finglath.

A Description of
Dublin.

Saturday the 5 of *July*, we marched to *Finglath*, two miles wide of *Dublin*, his Majesty did not go to the City, but laid in the Field with his Army, yet next day being *Sunday*, he went to *St. Patricks* Church, and returned on Horseback to the Camp to dinner. This City of *Dublin*, is by much the Largest and Best in all *Ireland*, and inferiour to none in *England*, except *London*, most of the Houses and Streets, are very Regular and Modern, and the people as Fashionable as any where. Its called by *Pictoway* *Eblanus*, the *Irish* call it *Bala Clough*, that is the Town upon *Hurdles*, because they say

it

July.

it was built upon a Fenny, Boggy place, but whatever it has been, the Ground about it is now very found, and the Air wholesome, it was much afflicted in the Danish Wars, and afterwards came under subjection of *Edgar King of England*, then the *Norwegians* possessed themselves of it, and we read that *Harold of Norway*, after he had subdued the greatest part of *Ireland*, built *Devolin*. And his King *Hen. 2.* after he had gain'd a great interest in this Kingdom sent over a Colony of *Brissno* men, who were the first *English* Inhabitants of this City. In the year 1220. was the Castle of *Dublin* built, by *Henry Londres*, Arch-Bishop of that See. And in the Reign of King *Ed. 2.* *Alexander de Bicknor* Arch-Bishop of *Dublin*, began to incourage the profession of Learning, having obtained from Pope *John* the 22. the priviledges of an University to the Collidge of *Dublin*, which he built in the place, where of old stood the Monastrey of *All-hallowes*, the first Master hereof was Fryar *William Hardute*. In times of War, and Tumult, it was defac'd, but rebuilt in *Queen Elizabeths* time, and endowed with several priviledges, being ever since a Nursery of Protestants, till they were turn'd out by King *Jam's* Souldiers, and it made a Guard House, but now at King *William's* coming, restored to the Protestants with their other possessions.

Monday, the 6. Several parties of Horse, were sent up and down the Country, and next day the Bishop of *Mearb*, the Bishop of *Limerick*, and all, or most of the Clergy, then in, or near the City of *Dublin*, waited upon the King: the Bishop of *Mearb* made a Speech, telling his Majesty, That they came not to Beg his Protection, for he had given sufficient demonstrations of his affection towards them, by ventring his Royal Person for their deliverance, but they came to Congratulate his Arrival, to pray for the continuance of his good success, and to give his Majesty all the assurance possible of their Loyalty and Obedience, intreating his Majesty not to think worse of them for staying in *Ireland*, and submitting to a Power that it was impossible for them to resist, since they had been as serviceable to the Churches interest, and his Majesties by staying as they could have been otherwise; with a great deal more to that purpose. The King made Answer, that as he had by the blessing of God succeeded so far, he doubted not, but by Gods Assi-

July.

stance, to free them absolutely, and that in a small time, from Popish Tyranny, which was his design in coming. Then the Bishop of Limerick desired his Majesty to give them leave to appoint a day of publick Thanksgiving, and to compose a Form of Prayer upon that Occasion, to which his Majesty assented.

The Irish went away in such haste, that they left 16000 l. Money left in the Treasury, and a great quantity of French peices called *Souses*. I enquired of some People concern'd in the Treasury in King James's time, and they told me, that there had not been much above 1100000 l. Brass money Coyned during all the time it passed.

On Tuesday, July the 7. the King sent out his Declaration, to the Irish, assuring all under such a Quality of his protection, and because the not observing of it has since done a great deal of prejudice, not only to his Majesties affairs, but also to all sorts of People belonging to that Country, it will not be improper here to insert it.

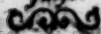
The Declaration of William and Mary King and Queen of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, &c.

To all Our People of Our Kingdom of Ireland whom it may concern.

William, R.

AS it hath pleased Almighty God to bless Our Arms in this Kingdom with a late victory over Our Enemies at the Boyne, and with the Possession of Our Capital City of Dublin, and with a general dispersion of all that did oppose us; we are now in so happy a prospect of Our Affairs, and of extinguishing the Rebellion of this Kingdom, that We hold it reasonable to think of Mercy, and to have Compassion upon those whom we judge to have been seduced: Wherefore We do hereby declare We shall take into Our Royal Protection, all poor Labourers, Common Souldiers, Country Farmers, Plowmen, and Cottiers whatsoever: As also all Citizens, Tradesmen, Townsmen, and Artificers, who either remain'd at home, or having fled from their dwellings, shall by the first of August next repair to their usual places of abode, surrendring up what Arms they have to such Justices of the Peace as are or shall be appointed by Us, not only to receive the same, but also to Register the Appearance of such

July.



of the said Persons as shall come and submit to Our Authority. For Our Royal Intention is, and We do hereby declare, That We will not only pardon all those seduced people as to their Lives and Liberties, who shall come in by the time aforesaid, for all violences they have committed by the command of their Leaders during the time of the War: But We do also promise to secure them in their Goods, their Stocks of Cattle, and all their Chattels personal whatsoever, willing and requiring them to come in, and where they were Tenants, there to preserve the Harvest of Grass and Corn, for the supply of the Winter. But forasmuch as many of them have a Legal Right to the Tenancy of several Lands, some holden from Protestants, and some held from Popish Proprietors, who have been concern'd in the Rebellion against Us. Our Will and Pleasure is, that all those who held from Our good Protestant Subjects, do pay their Rents to their respective Landlords: and that the Tenants of all those who have been concern'd in the Rebellion against us, do keep their Rents in their hands, until they have notice from the Commissioners of Our Revenue, unto whom they are to account for the same. And as we do hereby strictly forbid all violence, Rapine and Molestation, to any who shall thus come in and remain Obedient to us: We do hereby Charge and Require, that they be not disquieted in any sort, without Our particular Command. For the desperate Leaders of this Rebellion, who have violated those Laws, by which this Kingdom is united and inseparably annexed to the Imperial Crown of England; who have called in the French, who have Authorized all Violences, and depredations against the Protestants, and who rejected the Gracious Pardon We offered them in Our Proclamation of the 22 of February, 1688. As we are now by Gods great favour in a Condition to make them sensible of their Errors, So are we resolved to leave them to the Event of War, unless by Great and Manifest demonstrations, We shall be convinced that they deserve Our Mercy, which We shall never refuse, to those that are truly penitent. Given at Our Royal Camp at Finglafs near Dublin, the 7th. of July, 1690. In the Second year of Our Reign.

This Declaration was published in the Camp two days after, and had it been punctually observed according to the intent of it, we had had fewer Enemies at this day by at least 20000: For tho' the King was punctual in his observance of it, some Officers and Soldiers were apt to neglect the Kings Honour, and the Honour of our Country and Religion, when it stood in Competition

portion with their own profit and advantage. July the seventh and eighth, the King took a view of his Army by distinct Regiments, and though it often Rain'd very fast, yet his Majesty sat on Horseback in the midst of it, and saw each Regiment march by him, enquiring the Officers names, and what other things concerning them he thought fit: The Commissaries taking an exact List of all the private Men, both Horse and Foot, that appeared in the Ranks: And it was observable, that with Heat, Dust, Marching, and other inconveniencies, most people in the Army had got very sore Lips, nor was his Majesty himself exempt from this inconvenience for he had toiled and labour'd as much as the best of them.

Because several people may be curious to know what Number of Men we had at the Boyne, and also how many the Enemy were, I have here inserted the Exact Number of our own Horse and Foot, as it was taken at Finglas. And likewise a List of the Irish Army, as it was delivered, first to the Duke at Lisburn, and afterwards to the King.

An Abstract of the Private Men of his Majesties Army which appeared at the Review taken at Finglas the 7th. and 8th. of July 1690.

Regiments.		Regiments.	
English Horse.	Men.		Men.
First Troop of Guards	140	Col. Coy	236
Granadeers 47	52	Col. Byerley	244
unmounted 5		Col. Langston	225
Third Troop	133	Count Schonberg	242
Granadeers 40	43	Duke Sebenbergs French	395
unmounted 3	368	unmounted 8	423
Earl of Oxford	368	Col. Woolley	38
Sir John Lamiers 357	360	Captain Harbords Troop	
unmounted 3	245		
Colonel Villers 244	243	Dutch Horse.	
unmounted 1		Troop of Guards	143
Col. Russel	243	unmounted 2	145

July.		Regiments.	Men.	Regiments.	Men.
w	Lord Portland	351	357	Colonel Beaumont	526
	unmounted	6		Brigadeer Stuart	660
	Monopovillans	168	171	Sir John Hammer	593
	unmounted	3		Colonel Brewer	571
	Leuten. Gen. Ginkel	148	152	Col. Hastings	606
	unmounted	4		Earl of Meath	678
	Col. Scholks	157	167	Col. Fouks	439
	unmounted	10		Col. Gustavus Hambleton	560
	Van Oyens	161	164	Sir Henry Bellasis	628
	unmounted	3		Lord Lisburn	611
	Reideffels	173	174	Lieutenant Gen. Douglas	648
	unmounted	1		Earl of Drogheda	660
	Bancour	176	178	Col. Earl	693
	unmounted	2		Brigadeer La Millineer	529
	Nyenbuys	174	175	Col. Carbone	640
	unmounted	1		Col. Callimat	562
				Col. Mitchellburn	664
				Col. Tiffin	625
				Col. St Johns	589
				Lord George Hambleton	583
Danes Horse.			263	Total of English Foot	13335
	Col. Jewel	264	281	Dutch Foot.	
	unmounted	4		C. Solms 3 Battali. 1850	1931
	Col. Donop	250	588	2 Compan. of Cadets 81	
	unmounted	13		Count. Nassau's Regiment	652
	Col. Sebescad.	267		Brandenburg	631
	unmounted	14		Col. Babington	416
	Total of Horse	—		Col. Cutts	543
				Col. Grobens	490
Dragoons.			358	Total of Dutch Foot	4663
	Col. Matthews. Royal Reg.	406	621	Danes Foot.	
	Col. Levison	246		Regiment of Guards	698
	Col. Gwinns	260	580	Queens Regiment	634
	Sir Albert Cunningham	337		Prince Fredericks	555
	unmounted	21		Prince Christian	547
	Col. Eppingers Dutch	618		Prince George's	547
	unmounted	3		Zealand Regiment	527
	Total of Dragoones	1870			
English Foot.					
	Major General Kirk	666			
	Brigadeer Trelooney	553			

of the Affairs of Ireland.

97

July.

<i>Irishland</i> Regiment	554	Colonel <i>Deering</i> .
<i>Finland</i> Regiment	519	Colonel <i>Herbers</i> .
Total of <i>Danes</i> Foot	4581	Colonel <i>Hambleton</i> .
<i>Dutch</i> Foot	4663	Colonel <i>White</i> ,
<i>English</i> Foot	13335	Were all in Garrison and not
Foot	22579	included.
Dragoons	1870	And note, that neither Offi-
Horse	5881	cers nor Serjeants are included in
Total of Horse, Foot, } and Dragoons	30330	the former List, nor yet those
Reform. Officers of Horse	111	that were sick or absent, as seve-
Reformed Officers of Foot	372	ral were, but these all marched
Total	483	in the Ranks before the King, so
		that the compleat number was
		much greater.

A List of the late King James's Army taken Apr. 9. 1690.

Regiments of Horse.	Regiments.
Duke of Tyrconel } 9 Troops in a	Col. Robert Clifford } Six Troops
Lord Galmoy } Regiment 53	Sir James Cotton } in a Regi-
Col. Sarisfield } Men in a Troop	Col. Tho. Maxwell } ment, 60
Col. Sutberland	Lord Clare } Men each.
Lord Abercorn	Regiments of Foot.
Col. Henry Lutterill	Royal Regiment 22 Companies,
Col. John Parker	and 90 each.
Col. Nicholas Purcell	Earl of Clancarty.
Horse Guards.	Col. Henry Fitz James.
Lord Dovers Troop	Col. John Hambleton.
Duke of Berwicks } 200. each	Earl of Clanrickard.
Troop	Earl of Antrim.
Troop of Granadeers.	Earl of Tyrone.
Col. Butlers	Lord Gormanstown.
Dragoons.	Lord Slane.
Lord Dungan	Lord Galloway.
Sir Neal O Neal	Lord Louth.
Col. Simon Luttrell	Lord Duleek.
	Lord Killmallock.

Lord.

July
UN

Lord Kenmare;
Sir John Fitz-Gerald.
Sir Maurice Eustace.
Col. Nugent.
Col. Henry Dillon.
Col. John Grace.
Col. Edward Butler.
Col. Thomas Butler.
Lord Bopni.
Col. Charles Moor.
Col. Connach O Neal.
Col. Arthur Mackmahon.
Earl of Westmeath.
Col. Carvenagh.
Col. Uxbrough.
Col. Mac. Carty Moore.
Col. Gordon O Neal.
Col. John Barret.
Col. Charles O Bryan.
Col. O Donavian.
Col. Nicholas Brown.
Col. O Gara.
Sir Michael Creagh.
Col. Dom. Brown.
Col. Bagna.
Col. Mackellicut.
Lord Inniskillin.
Col. Hugh Mac Mahon.
Col. Walter Bourke.
Col. Felix O Neal.
Lord Iveagh.
Col. O Keyley.

These 44 Regiments were
13 Companies in each, and 63
Men in each Company.

Regiments from France.

The Red Regiment.
The Bleu Regiment.

Two White Regiments, each di-
vided into several Battalions,
being in all about 5000 Men.

*Regiments that were sent to
France in Exchange.*

Lord Mountcashels.
Col. Richard Butler's.
Col. Daniel O Bryan's.
Col. Fielding's.
Col. Arthur Dillon's.

*Regiments that were Raised and
never taken into pay, but Dis-
banded.*

Lord Castle Connel.
Col. Roger O Connor.
Col. Charles Geoghegan.
Col. John Brown.
Col. James Butler.
Col. Manus O Donnel.
Col. O'Carra.
Col. Edward Nugent.
Col. Charles Kelly.
Col. Brian Mack Dermot.
Col. James Talbot.

These last are all meer Irish,
and consequently good for lit-
tle, so that no wonder if they
were broke: But these were
all the Forces that the late
King had in Ireland; and a
great many were in Gar-
rison in Munster and other
places: but as to their Num-
bers at the Boyne, some of their
own Officers call them five and
twenty, and others seven and
twenty thousand.

About

July.

About the eighth or ninth of July the King had an Account of the misfortune of the Dutch and English Fleets; and Wednesday the ninth he divided his Army, and went himself with the greatest part of it beyond the Town of Dublin, in order to go Westwards: sending at the same time Lieutenant-General Douglas with three Regiments of Horse, two of Dragoons, and ten of Foot towards Athlone, which is fifty miles North from Dublin: The Regiments that went upon this Expedition were these; Horse, Langston, Russel, and Woolsey: Dragoons, Sir Albert Cunningham, and Gwin: Foot, the Lieut. Generals own Regiment, Sir Hen. Bellasis, Sir Jo. Hammer, C. Babington, L. Drogheda, C. Gust. Hambleton, C. Mitchelburn, C. Tiffin, C. St. John's, and L. Geor. Hambleton. I shall leave, therefore, his Majesty going Westwards, and give an Account of L. G. Douglas's Affairs till he joyns the King at Cariganliffe, within five miles of Limerick. Lieut. Gen. Douglas and his party Encamped that Night nigh Chappel-Issard; and next day at Manouth; Friday we Encampt at Glencurry, about five miles further, and we had not got this length till we begun to plunder, though the General gave strict Orders to the contrary. Saturday the 12th. we marched to Clenard Bridge, here we staid all Sunday, and Lieutenant-General Douglas took an account of every Man in his party, that he might have Bread provided accordingly; the Soldiers went abroad and took several things from the Irish, who had staid upon the Kings Declaration; and frequent complaints came already to the General, but Plundering went on still, especially amongst the Northern Men, who are very dextrous at that sport. Sunday morning Captain Aughmonty, of Colonel Woolsey's Regiment, went with a party of Horse towards the County of Longford. And Monday the 14th. they met the Army at Mullingar, (whither we marched) and several of the Irish came in for Protections, though when they had them they were of little force to secure their Goods or themselves.

Lieutenant-General Douglas goes to Athlone.

The party that was sent out brought in a great prey of Cattle from the Enemies Quarters, and took two Spies with Letters from Athlone; one was, to Advise one Tute to Defend an Island nigh Mullingar, in which he had store of Horses, and several things of value; Another Letter was from an Officer at Athlone, to his Father in the Country, telling him, that my Lord Tyrconnel, the Duke of Berwick, and several more great Officers

July.

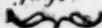
Officers were come to *Limerick* with a good Body of Horse, and that all their Army would be there in two or three days, so that they would make either a Hog or a Dog on't, (as he exprest it) That the *Dauphin* was landed in *England* with a great Army; that the *French* had beat the *English* and *Dutch* Fleets; that *Duke Schonberg* was dead; and it was said the Prince of *Orange* was so too; that their King was gone for *France*, but it was no great matter (he said) where he was, for they were better without him. Then he advised his Father not to take a Protection, because those that did were lookt upon as Enemies. And after his Letter was sealed, he had writ on the out-side, *Just now we have an Account, by a Gentleman that's come to us from Dublin, that Orange is certainly dead, so that all will be well again.* Such were their Hopes and Expectations at that time: But though they believed most of those things, yet they did not certainly know what to make on't, for they had no good opinion of the late King, as may appear by a great many instances; for *Sarcefield* sometime afterward, speaking of the Action at the *Boyn*, swore if we would change Kings they would fight it over again and beat us. For, certainly, the Courage and Countenance of the Chief Commander in Armies is a material Point in the success of the Action, and especially in Kings; for he that has a Genius to the War has Advantages above other Men; that makes his Gentry, Nobility, and Officers strive to imitate his Example, by which he is better served, and commonly more fortunate.

The 15th. we remained Encamped at *Mullingar*, and about 500 Creights came from the County of *Longford*, with their Wives, Children, Cattle, and every thing that they could bring away; their business was to procure the Generals Protection, which was granted them, and they moved homewards as the Army marched forwards, but were most of them plundered afterwards. There had been a Friery at *Mullingar* during the late Kings Reign, but the Friday before we got thither the Fathers thought fit to go a Pilgrimage into *Conaught*. This Evening a party of Col. *Ruffel's* Horse went towards *Athlone*, and came within three miles of the place, but did no feats worth the mentioning; next day we marcht to *Ballinmoor*, where stands a strong House at the side of a Lough, which the Enemy has since fortified: And Thursday, July 17th. we came before *Athlone*, and encamped

July.

encamped within a quarter of a mile of the Town; the Enemy playing their great Guns upon us as we marched, but did us little dammage. The General sent a Drum to Summons the Town; but old Colonel *Grace*, the Governor, fired a Pistol at him, and sent word those were the Terms he was for. The Town it self stands on a narrow Neck of Land between two Bogs, (one on either side the *Shannon*,) and you cannot come to it, much less pass the River any where, up or down, within six or eight miles except at the Town, through the midst of which the River *Shannon* runs, and is both very broad and deep, being by much the greatest in these three Kingdoms. *Ptolomy* calls this River *Senus*; *Giraldus Flumen Senense*; but the *Irish* call it *Shannon*, that is, the Ancient River. It arises out of *Thera* Hills in the County of *Le-trim*, and running through an excellent Country, and several Towns, (particularly *Limerick* and *Athlone*,) it falls into the Sea beyond *Knock-Patrick*, a Mountain upon which *St. Patrick* conjured all the Venomous Creatures in *Ireland*, and threw them into the Sea, insomuch that nothing of that kind has appeared, or will live, in that Kingdom ever since, (if you'll believe what the *Irish* do;) however, this River is Navigable for above twenty Leagues. That part of *Athlone* standing on the South-side the *Shannon* is called the *English Town*, and that on the other, the *Irish Town*, where stands a very strong Castle. *Athlone* is the head Town in the County of *Roscommon*, and was formerly the Barony of the *O Kellys*. There is a very good Stone Bridge between the two Towns, which was Built by Sir *Henry Sidney* in Queen *Elizabeth's* time, and because this is commonly accounted the Center of *Ireland*, that Queen once designed to make it the Residence of the Lords Justices. The *English Town* not being so easie to defend, the *Irish* Burnt it the day before our coming, and broke down the Bridge. They had several very convenient opportunities to disturb us in our march to the Town, because of the Bogs, Woods, and Rasses that lay very advantageous for that purpose, but they retired over the River, to defend the other side; about 200 Yards above the Town they had raised some Breast-works; on the River-side, nigh the end of the Bridge, they had cast up several Redoubts, and other Works, and had planted

July.



two Batteries of two Guns a piece, besides what were in the Castle.

Friday we spent in contriving our Batteries, and our Works, and on *Saturday* we planted two Field-Pieces, which did the Enemies Guns some damage; then one hundred and fifty Men out of each Regiment were ordered to make and carry Fascines; and in two days more we had a Battery of six Guns finished, nigh the Bridge-end, which plaid upon the Castle, and made a small Breach towards the top. On *Sunday* the 20th. the General sent a Detachment of Horse, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel *Barry*, and 150 Granadeers mounted, commanded by Major *Morgison* and Captain *Carlisle*, towards *Lanesborough* Pass, but they returned the next day, without doing any thing that was Remarkable; the Enemy having a Fort well mann'd towards the Bridge, and four Companies of Foot in the Town. That day one Captain *Mackgill*, a Volontier, was kill'd at our Battery with a Canon-shot from the Castle. Our Train at *Atblone* was only two twelve Pounders, ten lesser Guns, and two small Field Mortars; which, when planted against the Castle, did it little or no damage: (This was a misfortune that Lieutenant-General *Douglas* found *Atblone* stronger than he expected, for it's said, he had what Guns and Men he desired to reduce it withal.) The firing continued, however, on both sides; and on *Tuesday* one *Mr. Nelson*, our best Gunner, was killed with a small Shot. On *Wednesday* we had news that *Sarsfield*, with 15000 Men, was coming to raise the Siege; which made the General send all his sick and wounded Men towards *Mullingar*. Next Morning early, the Besieged hung out a Bloody Flag, which occasion'd smart firing; and in the Evening the General called all the Colonels to a Council of War, where he told them the necessity of Removing from the Town; for we had very little Bread all the while, and there was some reason to believe the *His Army* would cut off our Communication from *Dublin*. So that we had Orders to be ready to march at twelve a Clock that Night; we begun at the time appointed to send away our Baggage, and at break of Day, or a little after, we marcht off; the Enemy not so much as firing one Gun at us.

I. know

I know that whilst we lay here there were some that propos'd to pass the River at a Ford a little above the Bridge, and so beat the *Irish* out of their Works; but this was sooner said than done, for the Ford is naturally very deep and dangerous; besides, the *Irish* had fortified the other side with Breast-works, two Batteries, and a considerable Fort: And then if we had forced our way over, and could not have taken the Castle in a small time, we must have been obliged to fight the greatest part of the *Irish* Army, which was then drawing down upon us. Nay, if we had been Masters of the Town and Castle, the *Irish* might so have ordered it, as to have cut off our Communication from *Dublin*, and so starved us, for we were already glad of a very small Allowance of Bread.

July.
Reasons why it
was not taken.

Colonel *Grace*, the Governor, had been very active on the *Irish* side in the last Wars, but was now very old, and this was the third time that he had burnt that Town; the Enemy had in it three Regiments of Foot, nine Troops of Dragoons, and two of Horse, and more lay encamped not far off. During our stay here (which was from *Thursday* the 17th. to *Friday* the 25th.) the Country People, of all Perswasions, begun to think us troublesome.

This must be said for Lieutenant-General *Douglas*, that both whilst he staid here, and all along on his march, he constantly gave out very strict Orders against Plundering or Stragling from the Army. But it were better that good Rules were not made, than when they are so, they should not be observed, and the breakers escape punishment. For some Peoples taking liberty to break Rules, encourage others to lose their Reverence to them. Example always goes further than Precept; and most Men see better than they understand; so that whatever Rules are made in an Army by a General, they are to be observed by every one; else with what justice can one be punished for the breach of those Orders, which others make no Conscience in obeying.

July.

What Men left
there.

We lost in this Expedition not above thirty Men before the Town, and the Enemy very few; but in our march too and again, what with sickness, hard marching, the Rapparees surprising as they straggled, and several other disadvantages, we fell short of our Number three or four hundred; though before we got to the Kings Army we killed and took Prisoners a great many thousands, but more of these had four Feet than two.

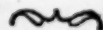
All the poor Protestants thereabouts were now in a worse condition than before, for they had enjoyed the benefit of the *Irish* Protections till our coming thither: and then shewing themselves Friends to us, put them under a necessity of retreating with us; which a great many did, leaving all their Harveest at that time ready to cut down, &c. and Yet were hardly used by our own Men.

On our first Days march backwards, the General received an Express from the King, (some say it was to draw off and joyn the Army, and that he had positive Orders before not to pass the *Shannon* at all:) And at the same time we had an Account of a Conspiracy in *England* against the Queen, and that some *French* were Landed there, having burnt some Towns on the Coast: And it was reported also that the late King was Landed in that Kingdom. We marched back that Day to *Ballimore*, where we staid four Days; on one of which there hapned the greatest Thunder and Lightning that has been heard of in those parts. And about this time several of the *Irish* that had taken Protections, when they could not have the benefit of them, began to turn Rapparees, stripping and sometimes killing our Men that they found straggling.

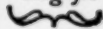
On the 30 of *July*, Colonel *Babington's* Regiment marched from *Ballimore* towards *Dublin*, and the same day Lieutenant-General *Douglas* marched with all the rest of his party to *Stony-Cross*, (which is out of all publick Rodes from *Dublin*, and so were most of our future marches, till we joyn'd the Kings Army, which was one reason why we had little or no Bread for almost four days together, and after that but a very slender allowance.)

Lieutenant General
Douglas
marches to joyn
the Kings Army.

August.



August.



lowance.) From this place, we marched to *Ballyboy*, and as we went a long, the General ordered one of his own men to be Shot immediately, for *Morodeing* (as they called it.) The General had given out orders, that none should stir out of their Ranks on pain of Death, however this poor Fellow and four more were not so observant of their duty as they ought to be, which the Generalespy'ng caused them to be seized immediately, and throw Dice for their lives. We had an Account at *Ballyboy*, that the Enemy was at *Banohor Bridge*, with a very strong party to disturb our march, which made us next day strike to the left, to *Roscreaugh*, instead of going to *Bur* as we designed, for that way was full of Woods and narrow Passes, where the Enemy had great Advantage of us. We stayed at *Roscreaugh*, the second of *August*, and on the third in the Morning, came twelve Troopers from the Kings Army (who lay then at *Goulden Bridge*) to hasten our march, for the King exprest himself to be in trouble, lest the Enemy should be too many for us in that place. That day we marched beyond the *Devils Bit*, and all along as we passed, we could see the Rapparees looking upon us from the Mountains, but we had now so many Cattle, Horses and Attenders, on our marches, as made us look as big nigh hand as the other part of the Army, and the Souldiers used to say, that the Cattle and Sheep themselves could tell by their different tones to whom they belonged. From this place all down to *Cashel*, and so towards *Clonmel* and *Waterford* one way, and towards *Tipperary* and *Limerick* another, is one of the finest Countries I ever saw, if it had Inhabitants accordingly. (Great part of it is called the *Goulden vale*.) On the 4 Colonel *Woolleys* Horse, Colonel *Tiffins* and St. *Johns* Foot marched back from hence towards *Mullingar*, to secure the Country, they came so far lest the Enemy should attack us, and now we being secure, they marched back another way.

We marched on the 5. to *Holy-Cross*, nigh *Thurles*, which of old enjoyed several peculiar Priviledges and Freedomes gratted in Honour of a piece of Christs Cross there found (as the Story goes.) This place by K. *Henry* 8. gave the Title of *Barons* to the *Butlers*. The General I believe, had heard that several people had enjoy'd great priviledges at this place in the days of old.

August



old, and therefore he gave his Souldiers liberty this afternoon, to take what they pleased for their sustenance, but the true reason was, because we had no Bread. The 6. we marched to a Village called *Dundrum*, a little to the North of *Cashel*, one of the most Ancient Cities in *Ireland*, famous of old, for the Preaching of *St. Patrick*, where afterwards was built a very considerable Cathedral, it was made an Archepiscopal dignity by *Eugenius* the third Bishop of *Rome*, and had under it in times past, many Bishopricks and Suffragans. As you go up to this Church, there is a Stone upon which Antiently all the Kings of *Munster* used to be Crowned. (I suppose it was after the same manner with the *Ulster* Kings, which was by throwing an old shoe over their heads, and sometimes by killing a white Cow, &c.) There are several Monuments of good Antiquity in this Church, and it was remarkable in the late Wars, for my Lord *Inchiquen*s killing all the Priests that were got into it, and pretended with a Body of the *Irish*, to defend the place, which naturally is pretty strong, and its called at this day, the *Rock*, because it stands on the top of one. On the 7. We marched to *Cullen*, and on the 8. to *Carriganishi*, whither the Kings Army was gone from *Goulden Bridge*. Its therefore convenient, that I should give the best Account I can of their march from *Dublin* thither.

In the year
1318. The
Archbb. of *Cashel*
was both Lord
Justice, and
Lord Chancellor

The Kings
march towards
Limerick.

On the 9. of *July*, His Majesty, with his Army Encamped at *Cromlin*, within two miles of *Dublin* westwards, where he settled the method of granting Protections according to his Declaration. And gave a Commission to the Bishop of *Meath*, my Lord *Longford*, Dr. *Gorge*, Captain *Fitz Gerald*, Mr. *Coughland*, Dr. *Davis* and Captain *Corker*, to save all forfeited goods; and to see that those, and the Corn upon the Estates of all Absentees, were safely kept, or disposed on for the Kings use. The Bishop of *Meath*, whether out of dislike to the proceedings of the rest, or averfeness to business, soon forbore his Attendance at their meetings, the rest went on in their Business, but in such a method as was neither to the Kings advantage nor satisfaction, and not much to their own Credits. The 10. in the morning his Majesty set forth a Proclamation, to put a stop to the passing of Brass money, only at the valuations following, viz. Every large

large half Crown, and new stamp Crown at a penny, the small half Crown at three farthings, the large Copper Shilling at an half penny, the small Shillings and six pences at farthings, &c. And the same day, the Army Encamp'd between the *Nesi* and *Racool*. Little hapned remarkable, except the Kings great care to keep the Souldiers from Plundering the Country; and every night, it was given out in orders that on pain of death, no man should go beyond the line in the Camp, or take violently to the least value from either Protestant or Papist. The 11. the Army marched to *Kill Kullen Bridge*, the King this morning passing by the *Nesi*, saw a Souldier Robbing a poor Woman, which enraged his Majesty so much, that he beat him with his Cane, and gave orders that he and several others guilty of the like disobedience should be Executed the *Monday* following, some people were so wicked as put a bad construction on this Action of the Kings but it had so good an effect upon that part of the Army, that the Country was secured from any violence done by the Souldiers during that whole march, two of the other Sufferers, were *Inishkillin* Dragoons. On *Sunday* the Army rested, and on *Monday* they marched to *Tommalin*, several of the Country people and some Gentlemen that were Papists coming in, to whom the King ordered Protections. We heard all long on our march of the Confusion the Enemy was in, and had Accounts daily, of their resorts to *Limerick*, and other strong places; whilst we were here, several came to us from *Killkenny*, who gave his Majesty an Account of the State of that Garrison, that part of the Enemies Horse and Foot were there still, but with thoughts of quitting the Town upon our approach, and at their going off they made the Inhabitants give them a sum of money, to save the Town from plundering. From *Tommalin* we marched to *Castle-Dermot*, where stood in old time, two or three Religious Houses, the Ruins of which as yet remain; one of these was of the Fryars *Minors*, sackt and Plundered by the Scots, under *Bruce*, in the year 1316. In which year, the *Irish* were here also overthrown by *Edward Buttilar* (or *Buttler*) Lord Justice of *Ireland*. Here the King received some Packets from *England*, giving him a further Account of his Fleet, and Sea affairs, which was easily understood not to be very grateful, and as is supposed was the occasion of our slow marches. Several Protestants every day came

August.



came to the Camp, all expressing their great Joy and Satisfaction for his Majesties Presence and their Deliverance. We had also an Account here, of some that took Protections, and yet in the night made their escape to the Enemy, having only got those Protections thereby to procure a better opportunity of going off with what they had, upon which parties were sent out on all hands to clear the Mountains and Woods near the Army, which kept the rest at home, from hence Colonel Eppingar, went with a party of 1000 Horse and Dragoons, to secure Wexford, which some time before was deserted by the Irish Garrison, this Town was first taken by Fitz Stephen, in the Reign of King Hen. 2. And hereabouts were the first English planted in Ireland, they were a Colony of West-Country men, and retain their old English Tone and Customs to this day. I am credibly informed that every day about one or two a Clock in Summer, they go to Bed the whole Country round, nay the very Hens fly up, and the Sheep go to Fold as orderly as it were night.

The Duke of
Ormond goes
with a party
to Killkenny.

The Army rested a day at Castle Dermot, and the next day marched beyond Carlow, sending forwards a party of Horse, under the Command of the Duke of Ormond to take possession of Kill-Kenny, and to secure the Protestants, and other Inhabitants in the Country about, from being Plundered by the Enemy, for by this time some of them all ventured to look behind them, and so return to take along what they had not time nor conveniency to carry off at first, here the Army staid a day also, and the next day marched to a place called Kells, two miles beyond Loughlin Bridge, and the day following to Bennett Bridge, three miles to the North-east of Kill-Kenny upon the same River.

The 19. his Majesty dined with the Duke of Ormond at his Castle of Kill-Kenny, this House was preserved by the Court of London with all the Goods and Furniture, and left in a good Condition, not without the Cellars well furnished with what they had not time to drink at their going off, Killkenny signifies the Cell or Church of Camick, who for the Sanctimony of his Solitary Life in this Country was highly Renowned, this was one of the best Inland Towns in Ireland, the Irish Town has in it the said Camick's Church, now the Cathedral of the

the Bishop of *Ossory*. The *English Town* was built by *Randolph* the third Earl of *Chester*, and fortified with a Wall on the *West* side, by *Robert Talbot* a Nobleman, and this Castle by the *Butlers*, Ancestors to the present Duke of *Ormond*.

On *Sunday* the 20th. They marched six Miles farther, and Encamp'd at a Place called *Rossed-Narrow* upon the Estate of one *Mr. Read*, where the King had an Account of one *Fitz Morrice*, Sheriff of the *Queens County*, that was under Protection, and afterwards went off in the Night with his Family and all his Stock: the King had also News that the Enemy had quitted *Clonmel*, whither Count *Schomberg* marched with a Body of Horse. This is one of the strongest Towns in *Ireland*, and cost *Oliver Cromwel* at least 2000 Men in taking it: the *Irish* made some Pretensions to hold it out now; in order to which they levelled all the Suburbs and Hedges, but all they did was to make the Inhabitants pay them 300 *l.* to save the Town from being burnt or plundered: it stands upon the River *Sure*, in a pleasant and fruitful Country. Here my Lord *George Howard*, and some more, came in and submitted, who had Protections.

Monday the 21st. The Army marched to *Carruck*, situate upon a Rocky Ground, whence it took its Name (being called from *Carruck Mack Griffin*) the Habitation formerly of the Earls of *Ormond*; which together with the Honour of Earl of *Carruck* King *Edw. II.* Granted unto *Edward Boteler* or *Butler*, whose Posterity (the present D. of *Ormond*) still enjoy it. There the King received an Account of the State of *Waterford* (by some that escaped from thence) and of the Resolution of the Garrison to hold out. There also the King had some Intelligence of the Condition of the City of *Cork* and that Country, with great Sollicitations from the Inhabitants to hasten to their Relief, which at that time they represented as a thing very easie.

On the 22^d. Major General *Kirk* with his own Regiment, and Colonel *Brewers*; as also a Party of Horse went towards *Waterford*, more Forces designing to follow. The Major General sent a Trumpet to Summon the Town, who at first refused to surrender, (there being Two Regiments then in Garrison) their Refusal however was in such civil Terms, that we easily understood their Inclinations; for soon after they sent out again to know what Terms they might have, which were the same with *Drogheda*; but not liking those, they proposed some

Waterford
summon'd,

July.

And Surrendered.

* This Fort was also given John Talbot Earl of Shrewsbury, but afterwards by Act of Parliament it was annexed to the Crown for ever.

of their own; which were, That they might enjoy their Estates, The Liberty of their Religion, A safe Convoy to the next Garrison, with their Arms and proper Goods: those would not be Granted, and then the heavy Cannon were drawn down that way, and some more Forces ordered to march; but the Irish understanding this, sent to ask Liberty to march out with their Arms, and to have a safe Convoy, which was granted them; and accordingly on the 25th they marched out with their Arms and Baggage, being conducted to Mallow.

In the mean time the Fort of * *Duncannon*, Seven Miles below *Waterford*, was summon'd. This is a Strong and Regular Fortification, being at that time Commanded by one Captain *Burk*, and well furnished with Guns, and all other Necessaries: the Governour required Seven days to Consider of it, which being denied him, he said he would take so much time; but upon the approach of our Forces, and the appearing of some Ships before it, he surrendered upon the same Terms with *Waterford*.

The day that *Waterford* Surrendered, the King himself went to see it, and took great care that no Persons should be disturbed in their Houses or Goods. Here we found my Lord *Dover*, who was admitted to a more particular Protection, he having formerly applyed himself when the King was at *Hillsborough*, by a Letter to Major General *Kirk*, to desire a Pass for himself and Family into *Flanders*. The City of *Waterford* was built first by certain Pyrates of *Norway*, and afterwards won from the Irish by *Richard* Earl of *Pembroke*: The Citizens hereof had large Privileges granted them by King *Hen. 7.* for demeaning themselves Loyally against *Perkin Warbeck*. It was Granted by Patent from King *Hen. 6.* to *John Talbot* Earl of *Shrewsbury* and his Heirs, who by the same Patent were to be Seneschals of *Ireland*. But this City afterwards was annexed to the Crown.

The King speaks of going for England.

At the King's returning to the Camp, His Majesty held a Council, wherein he declares his Resolution to go for *England*; In the mean time our Horse Encamped between *Carruck* and *Clonmell*, and the Earl of *Granard* came to wait on His Majesty; he receiving at the same time an Express from Lieutenant General *Douglas*, who gave but an indifferent Account of that Expedition.

of the Affairs of Ireland.

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July.

On the 27th. the King left the Camp at *Garruck*, and went towards *Dublin*, in order for *England*; which occasioned various Conjectures, and some Apprehensions, that the Affairs of *England* were in no pleasing Posture. His Majesty left Count *Solmes* Commander in Chief, and went the next night to *Carlow*, where he met with some Accounts from *England*, upon which he express himself doubtful whether to go over, or return to the Army. However he went on as far as *Chapel Island*, and there he was employed for about Three days in hearing Petitions; some of which related to the violation of Protections, and the Outrages committed by Lieutenant General *Dowling's* Party: As also others about Abuses and Inconveniences from the late Commission; and several Complaints were made against Col. *Trelawney's* Regiment then in *Dublin*. Here the King gave Orders that Count *Solmes's* Horse, Col. *Mathews's* Dragoons, Col. *Hasting's* and Col. *Trelawney's* Foot, with one Troop of Guards should be ship for *England*; and on the first of *August* published a Second Declaration, not only confirming and strengthening the former, but also adding, That if any Foreigners in Arms against Him would submit, they should have Passes to go into their own Countries, or whither they pleased. And another Proclamation came out, dated *July 31.* Commanding all the Papists to deliver up their Arms; and those who did not were to be look'd upon as Rebels and Traytors, and abandoned to the discretion of the Soldiers. And at the same time was likewise published a Proclamation for a General Fast to be kept constantly every Friday during the War, in all parts of the Kingdom under his Majesty's Obedience, for asking God's Pardon for our Sins, and imploring a Blessing upon Their Majesties Forces by Sea and Land. At this time also Mr. *Poyne*, Mr. *Reves*, and Mr. *Rothford*, Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal, began to act, and received Instructions from the King how to proceed.

Count Solmes
left General.

A second Declaration.

A Proclamation
for a Fast.

And now the King received a further account from *England*, that my Lord *Torrington* and several more were secured, and that several wicked Designs were discovered and prevented; That the Loss at Sea was not so great as was at first reported; and that the French had only burnt a small Village in the West of *England*, and gone off again; so that the danger of this being partly over, His Majesty resolved to

August.

August.

The King returns to the Army.

return to the Army; he lessened his Baggage and Retinue, giving his spare Horses to the Train; and then, on the 2^d of *August* went back towards his Army, which he found then at *Goulden Bridge*, on which day a Soldier was hang'd for mutiny. Here the King stay'd a day or two, and had Accounts from several Deserters of the Preparations the Enemy was making for their own defence and safety. On the 6th, the King with his Army march'd to *Sallywood*, having the day before sent a Party of Horse towards *Limerick*. And on the 7th his Majesty march'd to *Carrigishu*, within five miles of *Limerick*. Upon our approach thither the Enemy burnt and level'd all the Suburbs; as also set fire to all the Houses in the Country between us and the Town. On the 8th of *August* early in the Morning my Lord *Portland*, and *Brigadeer Stada* were sent towards *Limerick*, with about Eleven hundred Horse and Foot, who advanced within Cannon shot of the Town, but met with little opposition from the Enemy; and before they returned his Majesty went out with about Three hundred Horse, being accompanied with *Prince George*, the *Hut* *Over* *Arch*, *Major General Goble*, and several other great Officers. When these went nigh the Town, a Party of the Enemies Horse advanced toward them. But *Captain Selby*, of my Lord of *Oxford's* Regiment having the Advance Guard, drew towards them, with a design to charge them; which they perceiving, thought fit to draw homewards, their Cannon firing from the Town several times. Then in the Evening *Lieutenant General Douglas* with his Party join'd the Kings Army.

A Party sent toward Limerick.

The 9th of *August* in the morning early, the King sends three Squadrons of Horse and Dragoons, with a Detachment of One Thousand Foot, commanded by Sir *Henry Bellasis* (as *Brigadeer*) my Lord *Drogheda*, and *Colonel Earle*, as an Advance Guard to make the first approach, and all the Army both Horse and Foot followed in order. About six a Clock our Advance Party discovered some of the Enemy upon the top of an Hill, three Miles on this side the Town: our Men drew up, and then marched slowly forwards; and as we proceeded the Enemy disappear'd by degrees, till they were all gone off the Hill. We drew forwards; and about half a mile further we cou'd see a great part of the Town from a rising ground, but could not discover the ways to it, nor who were between us and it, because

The whole Army make their Approach.

August.

because of a great many thick Inclosures and Lanes; in one of which the Enemy appeared again. Our Men halted a little till the Pioneers had cut down the Hedges to the right and left; which done, they advanced, and the Enemy drew back. This took some time a doing, and therefore the Front of our Army, both of Horse and Foot came up: The King was here at first, riding from one place to another to order Matters, as his Custom always was. We cut the Hedges in a great many places, and went forwards, and the Enemy they drew home-wards, till they came to a narrow Pass between two Bogs, within half a Mile of the Town. The Neck of Land between these Bogs is not above 150 Yards over, and this full of Hedges, with a large Orchard, a Stone Wall, and also the Ruines of a great House upon the Lane-side, which the *Irish* had burnt the Day before. But there were Three Lanes that led this way towards the Town, the middlemost being the broadest, the *Irish* Horse stood in it, on the Pass beyond this old House; and whilst our Pioneers were at work, the Front of our Horse went up so close, that there were several little Firings, but not much damage done on either side: To the Right and Left of the *Irish* Horse, the Hedges were all lined with Musqueteers, of whom our Foot were got now within less than two hundred Yards. The Pioneers laboured at the Hedges all this while, and the Army made their Approaches in excellent Order: The Detached Party of Foot was upon the Advance towards the Centre, the Horse a little to the Right of them, followed by the Earl of *Drogheda's* Regiment, and Lieutenant General *Douglas* at the Head of them (my Lord *Drogheda* himself being upon the Advance Guard). The *Danes* were towards the Left, led on by the Prince of *Wirtemberg*, and Major General *Kirk*: The *Blue Dutch*, and several *English* Regiments, were upon the Right: All those were lined with Horse, and these supported again with more Foot: So that all Men that understood it, said it was a most curious sight; for though the Hedges were very thick and troublesome, yet it was so ordered, that the Front kept all on a Line, except the advance Party, who went always some distance before. Whilst things were going on thus, the King ordered Two Field-Pieces to be planted towards the Left, where they could bear upon the Enemies Horse. These fired several times, and the Enemy soon quitted that

August.

that Post. Our *English* Foot were so little concern'd, that though they knew the Enemy to be in the next Hedges, yet whilst the Pioneers were at work, they would sit them down, and ask one another, whether they thought they should have any Bread to day? (for they began to want their Breakfasts, though some few of them went to the next World for it.) The *Danes* to the Left stood with all the Care and Circumspection in the World; but observing the Posture of some of our Men, and hearing what they said, they believed we had no mind to fight; yet no sooner were the Hedges down, and our Front advancing in a narrow Field, but the *Irish* fired a whole Volley upon them from the Neighbouring Hedges; which our Men seeing, some of them cry'd aloud, *Ab ye Toads, are ye there? we'll be with you presently*: And being led on by my Lord *Drogheda* and Colonel *Earle*, they ran along the Field directly towards the Hedges where the *Irish* were planted; which the others seeing, immediately quitted, and then our Men fired upon them as they retreated to the next Hedges, and so beat them from one Hedge to another, even to the very end of the Suburbs, which then were all burnt and levelled. During this Action the *Danes* advanced in the Left, and the Blue *Dutch* with the *English* on the Right, the Horse coming on in the Centre. So that in less than half an hour from the first Volley, the *Irish* were driven under their very Walls; nor did we lose a Dozen Men in all this Action: When as if the *Irish* had managed this Advantage of Ground, and fortified the Pass, as well as *Ireton's* Fort on the Right of it, (which was built by *Ireton* on his first coming before *Limerick*: It stands on a Rising Ground, and over-looks the Pass on one side, and the Town on the other: (This we commonly called *Cromwel's* Fort) they might have kept us some Days from approaching the Town; at least, they might have kill'd us a great many Men: But the truth is, they had not time for all this: They had drawn up, however, several Companies of Men in the Fort, but when they saw us coming on, they retreated towards the Town without ever firing a Shot.

*The Cannon
play.]*

We were not as yet saluted with one Great Gun from the Town, because their own Men had been between them and us, but as soon as they retreated under the Walls, they let fly a-mongst us, and kill'd several as they marched in; a-mongst

mongst others, a *French* Captain had both his Legs shot off, and died presently. We drew Four Field-Pieces immediately to *Cromwel's Fort*, playing them upon the Town and the Out-works; and before Five a Clock in the Afternoon, all our Army was marched in, and most of them encamp't within Cannon-shot. In a Siege the first two things that are to be regarded, is the safe encamping our Men, and the drawing the Line of Countervallation, to prevent the Enemy from Sallying; but the latter of these we did not much mind, because I suppose we did not much fear any desperate Sallies; and the former was in some measure prevented by the situation of our Camp. The *Dames* encamp't to the Left, where they found an Old Fort built by their Ancestors, which they were very proud of; and from thence they fired Three or Four Field-Pieces upon the *Irish* that lay entrenched between them and the Town. The Detached Party kept an Advance Post till they were relieved about Nine a Clock, and the Lord *Drogheda's* Regiment was placed next the Town, nigh *Cromwel's Fort*, where they were to stop the Enemies Career, if they attempted a Sally.

August.

As soon as our Army was posted, the King ordered a Trumpet to be sent with a Summons to the Town; and, as we understood since, a great part of the Garrison were for Capitulating, but Monsieur *Boisfeau*, the Governour, the Duke of *Berwick*, and Colonel *Sarsfield* opposed it with a great deal of Heat, telling them, that there were great Divisions and Insurrections in *England*; That the *Dauphin* was landed there with Fifty Thousand Men, and that the Prince of *Orange* would be obliged soon to draw home his Army into *England*. The Trumpeter was sent back from Monsieur *Boisfeau*, with a Letter directed to Sir *Robert Southwell*, Secretary of State (not sending directly to the King, because he would avoid (I suppose) giving him the Title of Majesty), That he was surprised at the Summons, and that he thought the best way to gain the Prince of *Orange's* Good Opinion, was by a vigorous defence of that Town which his Master had entrusted him withal. That Evening a Party of Dragoons was sent to view the Pass at *Annagbegg*, Three Miles above *Limerick*, where Six of the Enemies Regiments of Foot, Three of Horse, and Two of Dragoons were posted, on the other side of the River,

The Town Summon'd.

The Answer.

August.

*A Party pass
the River.*

ver, where there stood a large New House, with a great many Brick Walls about it, and several convenient Hedges were adjoining to the River: They fired from thence upon our Men, but did little or no Execution, and that Night they marched off to the Town. The Cannon play'd on both sides till it grew dark, and next Morning early, being *Sunday*, the 10th, the King sent Eight Squadrons of Horse and Dragoons, Commanded by Lieutenant General *Ginkle*, and Three Regiments of Foot, under Major General *Kirk*, who passed the River without any opposition, and immediately His Majesty went thither Himself: The Stream was very rapid and dangerous, though the River has not been known to be so low these many Years. The King at his Return, left Major General *Kirk*, with his own, Brigadier *Stuart's*, and my Lord *Meath's* Regiments, who encamp't one beyond the Ford, and two on this side, having a Party of Horse (relieved every Twenty Four Hours) to support them.

A Cornet this Morning deserted the Enemy, who told the King, That a great many in Town were for surrendring, but prevented by *Sarsfield* and *Boisfeau*; That Count *Lauzun*, with the *French*, were encamp't nigh *Galloway*, the *Irish* refusing to receive them into Town (because themselves had done so with the *Irish* some time before at *Limerick*): That my Lord *Tyrconnel*, with most of the *Irish* Horse, and some Foot, were encamped on the other side, about Six or Eight Miles from *Limerick*: That there were Fourteen Regiments of Foot, with Three of Horse, and Two of Dragoons then in Town. The King sent that Afternoon a small Party of Horse to discover my Lord *Tyrconnel*, but he was then removed about Ten Miles further off towards *Galloway*.

The Town described.

But it will be convenient that I here give as good a Description of the City, and its Situation, as I can of a Place that I had not the liberty to go into, though I have been sometimes very near it. It's therefore for Circumference one of the largest in that Kingdom, except *Dublin*, and the Houses are generally built very strong within the Walls, being made most of them Castle-ways, with Battlements: It stands upon the River *Shannon*, and though it be nigh Sixty Miles from the Sea, yet Ships of Burden can come up to the Bridge; for the River below the Town looks like an Arm of the Sea. One part
stands

August.

stands on *Munster* side, and is called the *Irish Town*, being compassed about with a very strong Stone-Wall, and without this a Counterscarp with Pallisado's, and also several Forts and Bastions; and on the in-side the Wall they had cast up a vast Ditch, with an huge Bank of Earth and Stones, having only a place left to go in and out. The River about a quarter of a Mile above the Town, splits it self in two, and between the Branches lies a most pleasant spot of Ground, called *the King's Island*, being about Two Miles Circumference, on the lower end of which stands the greater part of *Limerick*, where there is a Castle, and a Cathedral Church. This also is invested with a Stone-Wall, and is called *the English Town*, between which and the *Irish Town* there is a very large Stone-Bridge; and beyond the *English Town*, upon the further Branch of the River, there is another Bridge that leads into the County of *Clare*, near which stands a considerable Fort of Stone, and the *Irish* cast up several more of Earth, and made great Fortifications in the *King's Island*, at which they were busie all the while we continued there: Here the *Irish* kept continually a strong Guard, having also during our stay Two or Three Regiments entrenched, opposite to the *Danels* on *Munster* side, towards the West of the *Irish Town*.

This Place was first won from the *Irish* by *Reimond the Gross*, an *Englishman*, and Son of *William Fitz Gerald*, but afterwards burnt by *Duvenald*, an *Irish* Petty King of *Thoumond*; and then in process of time *Philip Bruce* was in possession of it, and it became an *English*-like Town, being fortified with a Castle, and wall'd, by King *John*. In the late times *Cromwell* was called over into *England* before his Army reached that Place, and *Beson* managed the Siege, who died here afterwards. He laid a great many Months before it, and did not take it at last. Colonel *Finnel*, and others of the *Irish*, in some respect, betray'd the Town to him, for against the Governour's Consent they drew up Articles, and sending them to *Beson's* Camp, on the 27th of October 1651. they received Two Hundred Men at St. *John's* Gate, and more into another Fort, called *Price's Mill*; next day getting possession of the Town, *Beson* hang'd several of those that were still for defending of it.

But to come again to our business: The *Irish* began also to make Two small Forts between us and the *Irish Town*, one

R

nigh

August.

nigh the *South Gate*, about the middle of the Suburbs, where stood Two Chimneys, and it had that Name; the other towards the *East*, nigh that part of the Wall where we afterwards made a Breach: They had a Citadel towards the *West*, where on they had several Guns, which plagued us till we kill'd that Gunner, and then we were more at ease from that Quarter. There was a Spur at the *South Gate*, whereon the greatest of their Guns were planted, and at another small Gate, with a Sally-port (called *St. John's Gate*) towards the *East*, they had also a Battery of Three Guns, which from its Colour we called the *Black Battery*: This was just under the place where we made our Breach. Our Camp was ordered thus: The King's Camp was to the Right, in the Second Line; next him the Horse Guards, and Blue Dutch; then some *English* and *Dutch* Regiments, then the *French* and *Danes*, and behind all were the Horse, though after some time we rather encamped conveniently than regularly.

Whether it was that His Majesty was made believe the Town would surrender upon Summons, or what else was in it, I know not; but when we sat down before *Limerick*, we had only a Field-Train, though we had been a Month in our March from *Dublin* thither; and whether it be usual to go before a Town without sufficient Materials to force it, I am no Competent Judge: However, there were Six Twenty Four Pounders, Two Eighteen Pounders, a great quantity of Ammunition, much Provisions, our Tin Boats, and abundance of other things all at this time upon the Road from *Dublin*, under the Care of Two Troops of Colonel *Valler's* Horse.

Notice of our
Guns coming
up, by a De-
serter.

The Day after we got to *Limerick*, a *Frenchman*, (as was reported) a Gunner of ours, ran away from us into Town, and gave the Enemy an account where our Train lay, as also of those Guns, and other things that were coming up, the manner of our encamping, and where the King's Tents stood, with all the Particulars that were material for them to know. They had always a plaguy spight at our Guns, and therefore on *Monday Morning* early they play'd theirs most furiously towards the place where our Train lay. I hapned to be not far from the place that time, and in less than a quarter of an hour I reckon'd Nineteen or Twenty great Shot that fell in a manner all in a Line. This place grew presently so hot, that

we

August.

we were obliged to remove our Train beyond an Hill further off. They fired also all this day, and the next, at the places where the King's Tents stood, killing some Men, as also Two of the Prince of Denmark's fine Horses: His Majesty was advised to remove to some more convenient and secure Ground, which he did.

Monday the 11th. in the Morning, we planted six Twelve Pounders at Cromwell's Fort, which dismounted one of the Enemies best Guns upon the Spur, and did further damage to the Houses in the Town. The same Morning came one Manus O. Brian, a substantial Country Gentleman to the Camp, and gave notice that Sarsfield in the Night had pass'd the River with a Body of Horse, and design'd something extraordinary: For when Sarsfield heard what the Frenchman had told, he was pretty sure, that if those Guns, Boats, and other Materials came up to us, the Town would not be able to hold out; and therefore he resolves to run a hazard, and destroy them in their March if it were possible; if he succeeded, then he broke our Measures, but if not, he then design'd for France, if he did but survive the Attempt: In order to which, he takes all the best Horse and Dragoons that were in Town, and that very Night marches over the Shannon, at a Place called Killaloe, a Bishop's See on the Shannon, Twelve Miles above our Camp. The Messenger that brought the News was not much taken notice of at first, most People looking upon it as a Dream; A great Officer however called him aside, and after some indifferent Questions, askt him about a Prey of Cattel in such a Place; which the Gentleman complain'd of afterwards, saying, he was sorry to see General Officers mind Cattel more than the King's Honour. But after he met with some Acquaintance, he was brought to the King, who to prevent the worst, gave Orders that a Party of Five hundred Horse should be made ready, and march to meet the Guns; but whether His Majesties Orders were not delivered to the Officer in Chief that was to Command the Party, or where the fault lay, I am no competent Judge, but it was certainly One or Two of the Clock in the Morning before the Party marched, which they did then very softly, till about an hour after they saw a great Light in the Air, and heard a strange rumbling Noise, which some conjectur'd to be the Train blown up, as it really

August.

was. For on Sunday night our Guns lay at *Cashell*, and on Monday they marched beyond *Cullen*, to a little old Ruinous Castle, called *Ballenedy*, not Seven Miles from our Camp, and directly in the Rear of it, where they Encamped on a small Piece of plain green Ground, there being several Earthen Fences on one side, and the old Castle on the other : If they had feared the least danger, it had been easie to draw the Guns and every thing else within the Ruins of that old Castle, and then it had been difficult for an Army, much more a Party, to have touch'd them ; Nay, it was easie to place them and the Carriages in such a Figure upon the very Spot where they stood, that it had been certain Death to have come nigh them ; but thinking themselves at home, so nigh the Camp, and not fearing an Enemy in such a Place, especially since they had no notice sent them of it ; they turn'd most of their Horses out to Grass, as being wearied with marching before, and the Guard they left was but a very slender one, the rest most of them going to sleep ; but some of them awoke in the next World : for *Sarsfield* all that day lurked amongst the Mountains, and having notice where, and how our Men lay, he had those that guided him through By-ways, to the very Spot, where he fell in amongst them before they were aware, and cut several of them to Pieces, with a great many of the Waggoners, and some Country People that were coming to the Camp with Provisions. The Officer Commanding in Chief, when he saw how it was, Commanded to sound to Horse, but those that endeavoured to fetch them up, were killed as they went out, or else saw it was too late to return : The Officers and others made what resistance they could, but were at last obliged every Man to shift for himself, which many of them did, though they lost all their Horses, and some of them Goods of a considerable value : there was one Lieutenant *Bell*, and some few more of the Troopers killed, with Waggoners and Country People, to the Number in all of about Sixty : Then the *Irish* got up what Horses they could meet withal, belonging either to the Troops or Train ; some broke the Boats, and others drew all the Carriages and Waggoners, with the Bread, Ammunition, and as many of the Guns as they could get in so short a time into one heap ; the Guns they filled with Powder, and put their Mouths in the Ground that they might certainly split ; what they could pick up in a

hurry.

The Guns surprised.

hurry they took away, and then laying a Train to the rest, which being fired at their going off, blew all up with an Astonishing noise; the Guns that were filled with Powder flying up from the Carriages into the Air, and yet two of them received on damage, though two more were split and made unserviceable: every thing likewise that would burn, was reduced to Ashes, before any could prevent it. The Irish took no Prisoners, only a Lieutenant of Colonel Earl's being sick in a House hard by, was stript and brought to *Sarsfield*, who us'd him very civilly, telling him, if he had not succeeded in that Enterprise, he had then gone to *France*. Our Party of Horse that was sent from the Camp, came after the business was over, in sight of the Enemies Rear; but wheeling towards the Left, to endeavour to intercept their Passage over the *Shannon*, they unhappily went another way; since if our Party had been Fortunate, they had a fair Opportunity first to save the Guns, and then to Revenge their loss, and if either had been done, the Town had surrendered without much more Battering. Sir *Albert Cunningham's* Dragoons were abroad also, who met with some of the Irish, kill'd a Major; one Captain *James Fitz-Gerald*, and about Fifteen more, but the Main Body marched off secure. Colonel *Villers* went also with another Party of Horse towards *Bryans Bridge*, but the Enemy did not return that way.

Angust.

This News was very unwelcome to every body in the Camp, the very private Men shewing a greater concern at the loss, then one could expect from such kind of People; the loss of the Guns was not so great, as that of the Horses and Ammunition; but to make the best of a bad Marker, the Duke of *Wyrttemberg*, and several Great Officers, sent their own Horses, and every Foot Regiment furnished so many Garrons, to bring up the Guns and broken Carriages; as also to bring up two great Guns and a Mortar that were coming from *Waterford*. We went on with the Siege however, and planted several more Guns, and Fireings continued briskly on both sides, all the Army both Horse and Foot being order'd to make such a number of Falscheenes a day, and bring them to the Heads of their respective Regiments; to which end we cut down most of the Hedges and Orchards about.

The Siege goes on.

On

August.

Castle Connel
taken.

On *Tuesday* the 12. *Brigadeer Stuart*, with a Detachment of his own and my Lord *Meath's* Men, went towards *Castle Connel* with Four Field-Pieces: the Besieged submitted, and were brought Prisoners to the Camp, being 126 in number, commanded by one Captain *Balrswell*. This is a strong place upon the River *Shannon*, Four Miles above *Limerick*, built by *Richard* the Red Earl of *Ulster*. (Queen *Elizabeth* gave the Title of Baron *Castle Connel* to *William Bourk*, for killing *James Fitz Morice*, who was a Rebel in those Days.) Here we kept a Garison till the Siege was raised, and then it was blown up. During these Transactions several Parties of Horse were sent abroad; and *Wednesday* the 13. Lieutenant Colonel *Caulfield* was sent to *Cullen*, with a detachd Party of 300 Foot mounted upon Garrons, there to remain as a Guard to those who passed to and from the Camp; as also to scour the Country, the *Rapparees* (upon the miscarriage of the Guns, and being partly plundered contrary to the Kings Orders) beginning to disturb us. Next day there came an Express from *Toughal*, giving an Account, That they had killed some of the *Irish* thereabouts that robbed and plundered the Country. (This Place was surrendred to us about 10 days before, and had now a Garison of 80 Foot and Dragons.)

Upon some complaints from the North of *Ireland*, on the 15th, the King sends out his Proclamation, Commanding all to pay Tythes as formerly. These troublesome Times have fallen heavy upon the Clergy of *Ireland* (who lived very plentifully before) and yet it will be a great while ere they be so poor as their Predecessors: For they say in times past they had no other Rents or Revenues but three Milch Kine a-piece, which the Parishioners exchange'd for others new, when they went dry; as *Adam Brenensis*, a German tells the Story from themselves, as they returned that way on a time from *Italy*. Tho I suppose the People were then as ignorant as the Clergy poor; but now the Case is altered, and they want neither Encouragement nor Respect.

Sunday the 17. Monsieur *Cambon*, our Quarter-master General, was very diligent, in order to have the Trenches opened that night; and all things being prepared, Seven Battalions, consisting of *English, Danes, Dutch*, and *French* Foot, commanded by the Prince of *Wyrtenberg* Lieutenant General, Major General *Kirk*, Major General *Tettau*, and Sir *Henry Bellasis* Brigadier.

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deer. The King I suppose, by this mixture, thinking to raise an Emulation in his Soldiers; or further, that they might instruct one another, several Regiments having never been in Trenches before: they were commonly Seven Battalions on at a time, and relieved at Twelve a Clock at night: but this method was altered, for a reason to be given alterwards. This night we advanced our Trenches, and attackt the *Irish* at the two old Chimneys, the Granadeers threw in their Granades, and then endeavour'd to get over: this occasioned a general firing from our Trenches, and also from the Town; the King himself was at *Cromwells Fort* to see what happen'd (as he was constantly every night.) The *Irish* in the Fort made no great resistance; but after once firing they cry'd out Murder, and Quarter, but made the best of their way toward the Town; those that stay'd in the Fort were knock'd on the head: The firing from the Walls and Trenches continu'd for at least two Hours longer, by which time we had secured this Fort from the Enemies retaking it.

Next day, being *Monday*, the 18. we plant'd a Battery below the Fort, to the right of our Trenches, and dismounted some of the Enemies Cannon. All that day the Guns plaid briskly on both sides; and at night the Trenches were relieved by Lieutenant General *Douglas*; my Lord *Sidney*, and Count *Nassau*, as Major Generals, and Brigadeer *Stuart*. We made our Approaches toward the Fort without the Wall; and Lieut. Gen. *Douglas's*, and Brigadeer *Stuart's* Regiments were posted towards the right: It was dark when they went on, and they did not perceive the Enemy to be so near them as they really were; for there was at that time scarce Twenty yards distance between them: they were ordered to lye down upon their Arms; which they did, and a great part both of the Officers and Soldiers fell asleep: The Enemy perceived this, and attack'd them, which put them presently into a Confusion, and several of them gave ground, but presently recovered themselves and fired, but they did not know at what: The *Danes* to the left took our own Men for the Enemy sallying, and so fired upon them; they believed the *Danes* to be the *Irish*; and so return'd the Complement. The *Irish* fired upon both, and they at one another. This Confusion lasted night two hours; in which time several were killed; nor did the King, or any body

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dy else know what to make of it. At last our Men found their mistake, and the *Irish* were bear in, crying quarter and murder, as they used to do. After this his Majesty orderd the Trenches to be relieved in the day; and our Men marchd always in and out, in the very Face of their Cannon.

*The story of the
Irish Deliverer.*

About this time we had an Account of one *Balderock Rho O Donnell*, of the ancient Family of *Tyrconnel*: this Man was born and educated in *Spain*. But there being a Prophecy amongst the *Irish*, that he should free his Country from the *English*, doing great matters in his own Person, and more by his Conduct; he was sent for on purpose, and came to *Limerick*. It's incredible how fast the vulgar *Irish* flocked to him at his first coming; so that he had got in a small time Seven or Eight thousand *Rapparees*, and such-like People together, and begun to make a Figure; but after a while the Business cool'd, and they were weary of one another: and he is only now a Colonel in *Limerick*. They had another Prophecy also, That we should come to the Field above *Cromwell's* Fort, where stands an old Church, where on a Stone hard by we should pitch our utmost Colours, and afterwards be undone; with a thousand such like Fopperies, not worth the naming.

*His Majesty
had a narrow
escape.*

Tuesday the 19th. our Battery plaid upon the Walls, and also the Guns from *Cromwell's* Fort upon the Houses in Town: And the Enemy were not idle; for their Shot flew very thick, inso-much that the King riding softly up towards *Cromwell's* Fort, directly as His Horse was entring a Gap, a Gentleman staid His Majesty to speak to him, and in the very moment there struck a Twenty four pounder in the very place; which would have struck His Majesty, and Horse too, all to pieces, if His usual good Angel had not defended Him; it struck the Dust all about Him however, tho' He took little notice of it, but alighting, came and laid Him down on the Fort, amongst all the Dust. That Night we planted Four Twenty four pounders at the Angle of our Trenches, near the South-east corner of the Wall, where we made the Breach afterwards.

*A Fort taken
from the Irish.*

Wednesday the 20th. Colonel *Curt's* Grenadeers, commanded by Captain *Foxon*, and my Lord *Ment's*, by Captain *Needham*, were placed conveniently in the Trenches for an Attack; and at Two a Clock in the Afternoon (the Signal being given by firing Three Pieces of Cannon) they leapt over the Trenches, and

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and ran straight to the Fort which the Enemy had to the Right of us, at St. John's Gate. The Enemy fired from the Fort, and from the Walls; our Men did the like from the Trenches; and the Great Guns went to work on both Sides. The Grana- deers threw in their Granades, and Captain Foxon made an At- tempt to climb up, but was thrown down again; but entred at the second Trial, and his Men with him: So did my Lord Meath's Men, with Captain Needham; and in a small time we were Masters of the Fort. There were about Fifty kill'd in it, and Twelve with the Captain taken Prisoners, and some made their Escapes to the Town. The Firing continued however on both Sides for above an Hour, and all possible diligence was used to bring down Faggots, wherewith to make up that side of the Fort that was open to the Town. Before the Attack, a Party of our Horse were drawn up in a Lane, to the Right of the Trenches, to prevent the Enemy from falling, upon which the Enemies Cannon plaid; so that after the Fort was ours, they drew back beyond an Hill for their Security. About an Hour after, some Friend in Town gave notice that the Enemy were going to sally, which they did immediately, both Horse and Foot, from St. John's Gate: Their Horse came up very nigh the Fort, tho' our Men fired from thence, and the Trenches, as fast as they cou'd: Then the small and great Shot on both sides be- gan afresh again. Major Wood of Colonel Byerley's Regiment commanded an Advance Party of Twenty four French and Twenty seven English Horse: At the Noise he advanced with this Party, and leaping a Ditch, he engaged immediately a Squadron of the Irish Horse, and broke them. Then came in Lieutenant Colonel Windham, and Captain Lucy, as also some Dutch and Danish Horse: These charged the Irish that sallied, and beat them back, following them almost to the very Gate. But we being exposed to all the Enemies Shot from the Walls, lost several in coming off; amongst the rest, Captain Lucy, a Gentleman much lamented by all that knew him. The King saw all this Action, (as indeed he did most things that hapned, going often into the Trenches, and never without danger) ex- pressing Himself to be in pain for Major Wood, when he saw him and his Party in such danger, losing the greatest part of them. Captain Needham, after all was over, and he leading his Men off, was shot by a Chance-Bullet, and died immediately.

They sally.

August.

We lost at the taking of the Fort, and at the Sally afterwards, 58 Foot kill'd, and 140 wounded; Horsemen, 21 kill'd, 52 wounded; 64 Horses kill'd, 57 wounded; besides the *Danes*. These Men sold their Lives dear, and you may easily believe the Enemy gain'd nothing by this Afternoons Work; for the next Morning two Drummers made their Escape out of Town, who told us, the Enemy had lost above 300 Men; and in two Hours after came a Cornet and four Trumpeters from the Enemies Camp. That Afternoon Captain *Bourn* was kill'd, as he was marching down to relieve the Trenches; and Major *Morgan* was wounded with a Cannon-bullet as he lay in Bed, of which he died in two days.

A new Battery.

The 22d. we raised a Battery of Eight Guns, most Twenty four pounders, nigh the Fort that we took the day before, from whence we beat down Two Towers that stood upon the Wall, out of which the Enemy fired upon our Trenches. That night we threw good store of Bombs and Carcasses into Town, which disturb'd the Enemy very much, most of them having never seen such things before.

The 23d. there was a Drum sent, and a Truce towards the Evening, for the Burying the Dead kill'd on both sides at the taking the Fort. When our People came to look amongst the Dead, they found a *French* Officer wounded, and his Horse lying upon him, and yet the Gentleman was alive, and, as I heard, he recover'd, tho' he lay from *Wednesday* till *Saturday* in the Evening. I cannot omit a pleasant Adventure that fell out at the taking the Fort, between a Chaplain in the Army and a Trooper. This Chaplain hapned to go down after the Fort was taken, and seeing a Trooper mortally wounded, in all appearance, he fancy'd himself obliged to give him his best Advice: The other was very thankful for it; and whilst they were about the matter, comes the Sally. Our Horse came thundring down, at which the Clergyman making haste to get out of their way, he stumbled and fell down. The wounded Trooper seeing him fall, judg'd he had been kill'd, and stept to him immediately to strip him, and in a trice had got his Coat off on one side: The other call'd to him to hold, and ask'd him what he meant. Sir, (says the other) *I beg your pardon; for I believed you were kill'd, and therefore I thought my self obliged to take care of your Clothes, as well as you did of my Soul.*

This

This Afternoon were Eighty four Prisoners brought to the Camp, from a Castle some twelve or fourteen Miles off, called *Nignagh Round*: These kept out the Castle for Twenty four hours against Major General *Ginkell* and his Party of about 1500 Horse and Dragoons; they kill'd us Fourteen Men; but seeing two Cannon come, and the Soldiers very busie in bringing Fagots for a Battery, they submitted to Mercy. Their Commander *Nignagh Castle* was one Captain *O Bryan*. This Afternoon also one of Colonel *Levison's* Dragoons was hanged, for deserting. In the Evening our Bombs and red-hot Balls began to fly, which set part of the Town on fire, which burnt all that night, destroying a great quantity of Hay, with several Houses. I remember we were all as well pleased to see the Town flaming as could be, which made me reflect upon our Profession of Soldiery, not to be overcharg'd with Good-nature.

The 24th. we fired pretty smartly, but our Guns only struck the top of the Wall off, and therefore we raised a new Battery within sixty Yards of the Wall, and that Night drew the Angle of our Trenches within twenty Yards of the Counterscarp; Thirty Volunteers out of a Regiment working very diligently, and had Two shillings apiece for their pains; several Wooll-sacks being carried down to secure our Men from Shot as they were at work. Monday morning we began to fire from our new Battery, and the Breach in the Wall began to be considerable; which the Enemy seeing, brought abundance of Wooll-sacks, to damp the force of our Cannon. This was like *Josaphat's* defending his Towns in *Gallilee*, who filled large Sacks full of Chaff, and hung them over the Walls, to defend them from the Battering Rams of the *Romans*; for Cannons were not then invented.

The King sent his Gunners some Drink down to the Batteries, which made them ply their Work very heartily; and for all the Wooll-sacks, the Wall began to fly again; and early that Morning were two Cannon planted about 300 Yards to the right of our Trenches, in order to beat down the Bridge: But we were too late a beginning this Work; the *Irish* seeing what we intended, were very much afraid of the Bridge, and and therefore they planted two Guns without the Town, in the *King's Island*, which plaid upon our Battery, and also flankt their own Counterscarp. You must know, that two or three

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days before this, it had rain'd so violently for nigh twenty four hours together, that the Soldiers were almost up to the Knees in the Trenches. This look'd very ill, and therefore we were obliged to hasten our Work, lest the Rains should force us to desist. That Night therefore a Council of War was held, whether we shou'd make an Attack upon the Counterscarp next day; and it was deferred till *Wednesday*, because as yet the Breach was not wide enough: Monsieur *Carbon* was for deferring it for two or three days longer, which had been a great happiness if it had; and yet this could not well be, for our Ammunition began to sink.

Tuesday the 26th. we ply'd the Breach hard all day with nigh Twenty Cannon from several Batteries, and in the Night saluted the Town after the usual manner, with Fireballs, Bombs, and Carcasses. And on

The Town
Stormed.

Wednesday the 27th. a Breach being made nigh St. *John's* Gate, over the *Black Battery*, that was about Twelve Yards in length, and pretty flat, as it appear'd to us, the King gave Orders that the Counterscarp should be attack'd that Afternoon; to which purpose a great many Wool-sacks were carry'd down, and good store of Ammunition, with other things suitable for such a Work. All the Granadeers in the Army were ordered to march down into the Trenches, which they did. Those being above Five hundred, were commanded each Company by their respective Captains, and were to make the first Attack, being supported by one Battalion of the *Blue Dutch* on the Right, then Lieutenant General *Douglas's* Regiment, Brigadier *Stuart's*, my Lord *Meath's*, and my Lord *Lisburn's*, as also a *Braudenburgh* Regiment. These were all posted towards the Breach; upon the left of whom were Colonel *Cutts* and the *Danes*. Lieutenant General *Douglas* commanded, and their Orders were to possess themselves of the Counterscarp, and maintain it. We had also a Body of Horse drawn up, to succour the Foot upon occasion. About half an hour after Three, the Signal being given by firing three Pieces of Cannon, the Granadeers being in the furthest Angle of our Trenches, leapt over, and run towards the Counterscarp, firing their Pieces, and throwing their Granades. This gave the Alarm to the *Irish*, who had their Guns all ready, and discharged great and small Shot upon us as fast as 'twas possible: Our Men were not behind them in either;

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ther; so that in less than two Minutes the Noise was so terrible, that one would have thought the very Skies ready to rent in sunder. This was seconded with Dust, Smoke, and all the Terrors that the Art of Man could invent, to ruine and undo one another; and to make it the more uneasie, the Day it self was excessive hot to the By-standers, and much more sure in all respects to those upon action. Captain *Carlisle*, of my Lord *Drogheda's* Regiment, run on with his Granadeers to the Counterscarp, and tho' he received two Wounds between that and the Trenches, yet he went forwards, and commanded his Men to throw in their Granades; but in the leaping into the dry Ditch below the Counterscarp, an *Irishman* below shot him dead. Lieutenant *Barton* however encouraged the Men, and they got upon the Counterscarp, and all the rest of the Granadeers were as ready as they. By this time the *Irish* were throwing down their Arms, and running as fast as they could into Town; which our Men perceiving, entred the Breach pell-mell with them, and above half the Earl of *Drogheda's* Granadeers, and some others, were actually in Town. The Regiments that were to second the Granadeers went to the Counterscarp, and having no Orders to go any further, there stopt. The *Irish* were all running from the Walls, and quite over the Bridge, into the *English* Town, but seeing but a few of our Men enter, they were with much ado persuaded to rally; and those that were in, seeing themselves not followed, and their Ammunition being spent, they designed to retreat; but some were shot, some taken, and the rest came out again, but very few without being wounded. The *Irish* then ventured upon the Breach again, and from the Walls and every place so posted us upon the Counterscarp, that after nigh three hours resisting Bullets, Stones, (broken Bottles, from the very Women, who boldly stood in the Breach, and were nearer our Men than their own) and whatever ways could be thought on to destroy us, our Ammunition being spent, it was judged safest to return to our Trenches. When the Work was at the hottest, the *Brandenburgh* Regiment (who behaved themselves very well) were got upon the *Black Battery*, where the Enemies Powder hapned to take fire, and blew up a great many of them, the Men, Faggots, Stones, and what not, flying into the Air with a most terrible noise. Colonel *Cutts* was commanded

by,

August.

by the Duke of *Wyrtemberg* to march towards the Spur at the South Gate, and beat in the *Irish* that appeared there; which he did; tho' he lost several of his Men, and was himself wounded: For he went within half Musket-shot of the Gate, and all his Men open to the Enemies Shot, who lay secure within the Spur and the Walls. The *Danes* were not idle all this while, but fired upon the Enemy with all imaginable fury, and had several kill'd; but the mischief was, we had but one Breach, and all towards the Left it was impossible to get into the Town when the Gates were shut, if there had been no Enemy to oppose us, without a great many Scaling-ladders, which we had not. From half an hour after Three, till after Seven, there was one continued Fire of both great and small Shot, without any intermission; insomuch that the Smoke that went from the Town reached in one continued Cloud to the top of a Mountain at least six Miles off.

When our Men drew off, some were brought up dead, and some without a Leg; others wanted Arms, and some were blind with Powder; especially a great many of the poor *Brandenburgers* look'd like Furies, with the Misfortune of Gunpowder. One Mr. *Upton* getting in amongst the *Irish* in Town, and seeing no way to escape, went in the Crowd undiscovered, till he came at the Governour, and then surrendered himself. There was a Captain, one *Bedloe*, who deserted the Enemy the day before, and now went upon the Breach, and fought bravely on our side; for which His Majesty gave him a Company.

The King stood nigh *Cromwell's* Fort all the time, and the Business being over, He went to His Camp very much concern'd, as indeed was the whole Army; for you might have seen a mixture of Anger and Sorrow in every bodies Countenance. The *Irish* had two small Field pieces planted in the *King's Island*, which flank'd their own Counterscarp, and in our Attack did us no small damage, as did also two Guns more that they had planted within the Town, opposite to the Breach, and charged with Cartridge-shot.

We lost at least Five hundred upon the Spot, and had a thousand more wounded, as I understood by the Surgeons of our Hospitals, who are the properest Judges. The *Irish* lost a great many by our Cannon, and other ways; but it cannot

*The Loss at
this Attack.*

be

of the Affairs of Ireland.

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be supposed that their Loss should be equal to ours, since it's a much easier thing to defend Walls, than 'tis by plain Strength to force People from them; and one Man within, has the advantage of four without. Nor possibly may it be amiss to insert the List of the Officers kill'd and wounded at the Attack, in the Five *English* Regiments that were upon Dury, as it was taken exactly next day.

In Lieutenant General Douglas's

Regiment.

Wounded.

Sir Charles Fielding.

Capt. Rose, mortally wounded.

Capt. Guy.

Capt. Trevor.

Capt. Rose junior.

Capt. Wainsbrough.

Lieut. Wild, mortally wounded.

Lieut. Wybrants.

Lieut. Lacock.

Lieut. Rapine.

Lieut. Lloyd.

Ensign Goodwin.

Ensign Burk.

Kill'd.

Major Hambleton.

Lieut. Ennis.

Lieut. Morison.

Ensign Tapp.

Ensign Pinsent.

In Colonel Cutts's Regiment.

Wounded.

Colonel Cutts.

Capt. Newton.

Capt. Foxon.

Capt. Masibam.

Lieut. Lewis.

Lieut. Barrock.

Lieut. Cary.

Lieut. Trenchard.

The Adjutant.

Mr. Hows, a Voluntier.

Kill'd.

Capt. Hudson.

Ensign Mead.

In the Earl of Meath's Regiment.

Wounded.

The Earl of Meath.

L. C. Newcomb, mort. wounded.

Lieut. Blakeney.

Lieut. Hubblethorn.

Kill'd.

Lieut. Latbam.

Ensign Smith.

In Brigadier Stuart's Regiment.

Wounded.

Brigadier Stuart.

Major Cornwall.

Capt. Pallferey.

Capt. Galbreth.

Capt. Stuart.

Capt. Casseem.

Lieut. Stuart.

Lieut. Cornwall.

Lieut. Cary.

Ensign Stuart.

Kill'd.

August.

Kill'd.

Capt. Linden.

Capt. Farlow.

Lieut. Russell.

Capt. Holdrich.

Capt. Hubbard.

Lieut. Hillton.

Lieut. Goodwin.

Ensign Hook.

In my Lord Lisburn's Regiment.

Kill'd.

Wounded.

Capt. Wallace.

Capt. West.

Ensign Ogle.

Major Allen.

Capt. Adair.

These make in all Fifty nine: whereof Fifteen were killed upon the Spot, and several dyed afterwards of their Wounds; the Granadeers are not here included, and they had the hottest Service: Nor are there any of the Forreigners, who lost full as many as the *English*; so that I'm afraid this did more then countervail the loss that the *Irish* had during the whole Siege; at least in the number of Men.

Next day the King sent a Drummer, in order to a Truce, that the Dead might be buried, but the *Irish* had no mind to it; and now the Soldiers were in hopes that the King would make a second Attack, and seem'd resolv'd to have the Town or dye every Man. But this was too great a hazard to run at one Place, and they did not know how scarce our Ammunition was, it being very much wasted the day before; this day however we continued Battering the Wall, and it begun to Rain; and next day it was very Cloudy all about, and Rain'd very fast; so that every Body began to dread the Consequences of it. The King therefore calls a Council of War, wherein it was Resolv'd to quit the Town and Raise the Siege, which as the Case stood then with us, was no doubt the most prudent thing that could be done. We drew off therefore our heavy Cannon from the Batteries by degrees: And on Saturday August the 30. we marched greatest part of them as far as *Cariganliss*, the Guard being the Earl of *Drogheda's* and Brigadeer *Stuart's* Regiments. The Rain which had already fallen had softned the ways, and we found some difficulty in getting off our Guns, especially since for the most part we were obliged to draw them with Oxen, a part of our Train Horses being disposed of to the Enemies use before; and this was one main Reason for

The Siege Raised.

Raising

of the Affairs of Ireland.

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Raising the Siege; for if we had not (granting the Weather to continue bad) we must either have taken the Town, or of necessity have lost our Cannon, because that part of the Country lies very low, and the Ways are deep. Therefore on Sunday the last of *August*, all the Army drew off, (having a good Body of Horse in the Rear): As soon as the *Irish* perceived we had quitted our Trenches, they took Possession of them with great Joy, and were in a small time after over all the Ground whereon we had Entamped; two days before we Raised the Siege, a great many Waggon and Carriages were sent towards *Cashell* and *Clonmel*, with sick and wounded Men, which was the Reason that we were forced to leave a great many Bombs, Hand Granades, and other things behind which we buried in the Artillery Ground, but with a Train to blow them up; so that when it took Fire the *Irish* were mightily afraid, and thought we were beginning a new Siege from under Ground: But yet they dug up most of our dead Officers and Soldiers, only to get their Shirts and Shrowds.

The Army Encamped that day at *Cariganists*, and then the Artillery marched forwards to *Cullen*, whither the Army followed the day after: but as soon as the Protestants, that dwelt in that Country, understood that the Army was drawing off, they prepared to march along with Bag and Baggage, which most of them did, and lookt something like the Children of *Israel*, with their Cattle, and all their Stuff, footing it from *Egypt*; though most of those poor People had no Promised Land to retire to, but were driven into a Wilderness of Confusion; for I saw a great many both Men and Women of very good Fashion, who had lived plentifully before, yet now knew not which way to steer their Course, but went along with the Croud, whither Providence should direct them.

In a day or two after we were removed from before *Limerick*, Monsieur *Boisseau* the Governour made a Speech, and told the *Irish*, "That with much ado he had persuaded them to defend the Town, which with Gods help they had done; but assured them it was not Fear, but Prudence and Policy that had made the Enemy quit the Siege, as might appear by their slow Marches; and withal he told them his Opinion, that the next time the Enemy came they would have it: Which said, he took leave, and went to the French Forces then at *Galloway*, and designing for *France*.

T

His

Septemb.

The Army removes.

Monsieur Boisseau's Speech to the Irish.

He told them that they had done well in defending the Town, and that he was very much obliged to them for it.

September.

His Majesty
goes for Eng-
land.Lords Justices
Appointed.

His Majesty, that day we Raised the Siege, went to *Cullen*, and so to *Clonmel*, from thence to *Waterford*, in order to take shipping for *England*, accompanied with the Prince, the Duke of *Ormond*, and several of the Nobility. From *Waterford* His Majesty sent back the Right Honourable *Henry* Lord Viscount *Sidney*, and *Tho. Conynghby* Esq; to the Camp; they, with Sir *Charles Porter*, having a Commission to be Lords Justices of *Ireland*: The King set Sail with a fair Wind for *England*, where he was received with an universal rejoicing; and the Two Lords Justices on the Fourth of *September* came to the Camp, then at *Cullen*, where they staid till the Sixth; in which two days, they, and the General, Count *Solmes*, ordered all Affairs relating to the Army. And here we received Money, which was very acceptable, for it had been very scarce all the Campaign, both with the Officers and Soldiers, and yet every body were content, and our Wants were no Obstruction to our Duties; as His Majesty was pleased to take notice afterwards in His Speech to the Parliament. From *Cullen* we marched on the Sixth to *Tipperary*, blowing up a strong Castle when we Decamped, and the two Lords Justices took their Journey towards *Dublin*, in order to enter upon their Government.

Some that are Men already prejudiced, will pretend to be Judges in this Affair (though they never saw the Place or the Country) and affirm, that the *Irish* made never a false step, but one, during this whole Siege, and that was, in not Fortifying the Pass, and *Cromwell's* Fort without; as also in not drawing a large Trench from the River towards the *East*, and then runing it round that part of the Town, on which they might have raised several Forts and Breast-works; from whence they might have retarded our Approaches; but indeed they had not time for all this, though they had done something of that kind towards the *West*, where they kept Men Encamped all the while we lay before the Town; and they had made also some Forts towards the *East*, but they could not put Courage in their Men to defend them, especially when Walls were so near to fly to.

Objections a-
gainst the
Siege at
Limerick.

What Objections they make against us were these, that we ought to have divided our Army, and sent a part beyond the River; as also to have broke down the two Bridges, one between the two Towns, and the other on the County of *Clare* side; by which means we had prevented the *Irish* Communication between

between the two Towns, and also from without; the greatest hazard that we could run, being to Attack a Town that had one side open, to bring in what Men and things they pleas'd. All these, and a great many more inconveniencies were seen into at that Instant; but the dividing the Army was impracticable, because that when one Part had been over the River, they must have marched several Miles to the Right, and then down again, before they could come nigh the other side of the Town, by reason of a vast Bog that runs from the Town a great way cross the Country, and then it was no easie thing to bring Provision to those: and besides, if the Rains had fallen (as it often threatned us) that part of the Army which had gone over, must have run the hazard either of starving, or fighting their whole Army, or both; for the *Shannon* rises all on a sudden, and the least swelling in the World, would have made it impassible for the Army, since it was with great difficulty that single Regiments could get over as it was, and it never has been seen so low in many years. Nor had we Men enough, to make what Works were convenient, to secure both Parts of the Army from Sallies or Assaults from without, if we had been divided. We know *Cæsar* at the Siege of *Alexia*, shut in Eighty thousand *Guals*; made a Line of Countervallation of Eleven Miles Circumference; and one of Circumnivallation that was Fourteen, Fortifying both these with Sharp Stakes, and vast Holes in the Ground, slightly covered over; by which, he both reduced that great Army within to his Mercy, and kept off a much greater, that design'd to Raise the Siege. But his Army were Men of Fatigue and Labour; as well as Courage, and his Numbers six times as great as ours. And though we were Commanded by a Prince of as great Courage and Resolution as ever *Cæsar* was, and he had Men that were as willing, yet several of them were beginning to be sick, and were not able to endure the Fatigue; except both our Time had been longer, and the Season better; and though Kings are Gods in Wisdom as well as Power, yet there is one in Heaven that limits them.

September the 7th, Lieutenant General *Douglas*, with his own Regiment, Brigadeer *Stuart's*, Sir *Henry Ballasye's*, Lord *George Hamilton's*, a *Derry* Regiment, the Third Troop of Guards, Colonel *Russel's* Horse, and *Guinn's* Dragoons, marched from

Lieutenant General *Douglas's* Decamps.

September. Tipperary towards the North, to Winter-Quarters, and the rest lay encamped.

September the 8th. my Lord *Lisburne*, with a Party of Foot, being about Four Hundred, and Monsieur *La Forest*, with a Party of Five hundred Horse, were sent to *Killmallock*, a Place between *Cork* and *Limerick*, where the Enemy had a Garrison of about two hundred Men, who when they saw our Party, and Four Field-Pieces, which they brought along, they yielded upon the first Summons, and had Conditions to march out with their Arms and Baggage.

From the 8th to the 13th nothing of Moment hapned, except the General's sending out several Parties unto all the little Towns and Castles thereabouts, having Engineers along to see what could be done in order to their Defence, on which account Dr. *Davies*, Dean of *Ross*, was very serviceable, who understood the Countrey thereabouts very well.

And Major General Kirk, with the rest of the English.

This took up time till the 13th, when Major General *Kirk*, with Seven Foot Regiments, (viz.) *Kirk*, *Hammer*, *Meath*, *Cutts*, *Lisburne*, *Earle*, and *Drogheda's*; and Sir *John Lanier*, with his own, Lord of *Oxford's*, *Langston's*, *Byerley's* Horse, *Levison's* Dragoons, and part of *Cunningham's*, marched towards *Bir*; Which way we heard that *Sarsfield* was making, being then with a Body of about Five Thousand Horse, Foot and Dragoons, at a place called *Banobar-Bridge*, not Eight Miles from *Bir*. The same Day Major General *Scravemore*, and Major General *Tatteau*, with Twelve hundred Horse and Dragoons, as also Two Regiments of *Danish* Foot, went towards *Mallow*, in order to go to *Cork*, where we had a Report, that my Lord *Marlborough* designed to land. There were some Deferters also that came from the Enemy, that gave us an Account, that my Lord *Tyrconnel*, Count *Lauzun*, Monsieur *Boisfeau*, with all the *French* Forces, were gone from *Galloway* towards *France*; for hearing of my Lord *Marlborough's* Fleet coming abroad, they made more haste than they designed, and so left several of their Men sick at *Galloway*: They brought an excellent Field-Train in the Spring out of *France*, which they took along with them when they returned.

The rest of the Army remove to Cashel.

September the 14th, the rest of the Army removed to *Cashel*, and from thence were dispersed to Quarters; part of the *Danes* and

and Dutch went towards Waterford, some to Clonmell, and others staid at Cashel: The French went towards the County of Carlow: And so the Army was dispersed. Count Solmes commanded the Army from His Majesty's Departure, till the Camp broke up, and then he went to Dublin, in order to go for England. On the Day following a Captain of Colonel Levison's Dragoons, with his Troop, routed a Body of Irish Rabble that were got together, and a Party of Horse were sent after a Company of Rapparees that had kill'd some of our Men as they were a foraging. Lieutenant General Ginkel was now Commander in Chief of the Army, and went towards his Head Quarters at Killenny.

At Major General Kirk's coming to Roscreagh, he under Sarsfield understood that Sarsfield and his Party had besieged the Castle at Bir, in which was only a Company of Colonel Tiffin's Regiment. The Enemy had brought several Pieces of Cannon, one of which was an Eighteen Pounder, with which they did the Castle some damage; but however the besieged defended it stoutly, and killed them several Men.

Tuesday the 16th, Major General Kirk, and his Foot, marched from Roscreagh towards Bir, and joyned our Horse (who went that way the Night before, Commanded by Sir John Lanier) some Three Miles short of the Town. There we understood that Sarsfield's Party in Bar was very strong, and Major General Kirk thought it was too great a hazard to engage with those Men he had; so sent an Express to Lieutenant General Douglas, who was then at Mary-Borough, some Twenty Miles off: We returned to Roscreagh that Night, and next Morning being reinforced with Douglas's Horse, we marched forwards towards Bir again. The Enemy then had left the Town, and encamped Three Miles from it towards the Shannon; but their Out-Guards were within a Mile of Bir, and could over-look our Camp. The General sent out all the Grenadeers, who took the shortest way over the Bog towards the Hill where the Enemy stood; and at the same time sent out a Detachment of Horse, who beat the Enemy off: Thursday the 18th, our Army encamped beyond the Town, and one Lieutenant Kelly, of Levison's Dragoons, as he was discovering the Enemy with a Party, being surrounded, was taken

Relieved by
Major General
Kirk.

September. ken Prisoner: He is since exchanged, and gives us an Account of the Present State of *Limerick*, which is something different from the Publick.

Friday the 19th, the Enemy decamped, and marched to *Banobar-Bridge*, though that Night a Party of their Horse beat in our Out-Guards.

Saturday the 20th, our Army begun some Fortifications in Town, it being only an open place before, and part of them stayed here encamped for Ten or Twelve Days. Some say also, that here was a good opportunity lost, in not falling upon the Enemy in their Retreat towards *Banobar*; for they marched off in great Confusion: But during our stay here, the Soldiers, either by the bad Example of others, or making the Scarcity of Bread a Pretence, they began to strip and rob most of the *Irish* that had got Protections; which made it natural for them, after this, to turn *Rapparees*, and do us all the Mischief they could. And it did not stop here; for there was scarce any distinction made of Papist or Protestant in this Affair.

Towards the middle of *September* my Lord *Sidney*, and *Tho. Lords Justices Coningsby*, Esq; Lords Justices, came to *Dublin*, and on the 15th *come to Dublin.* they took the usual Oaths of Chief Governours of that Kingdom, before the Commissioners of the Great Seal; with all the accustomed Formalities, the People by their Bonfires, and other Signs of Joy, expressing their satisfaction for the restoring of the Civil Government. One of the first things they did, was to consider of the Settlement of the *Militia*, in such hands as might be most for the King's Service, and the Countries Interest; and in some small time after, gave out Commissions accordingly. The same Day they sent out a Proclamation, to encourage all People to bring in their Goods to the Market at *Dublin*, forbidding any Officers or Soldiers to press such Peoples Horses, which has been a trick too frequent in that Country. And whereas the *Rapparees* began to be very numerous in several places, the Lords Justices issued out a Proclamation, requiring all Papists to remain in their respective Parishes, at least not to go Three Miles farther, and only then to Market. This bears date the 18th. And because the hardships that the Soldiers had endured, occasioned a great many of them, at the

the breaking up of the Camp, to steal from their Colours, and make the best of their way for England, a Proclamation came out the 19th, *Forbidding all Masters of Ships, or Seamen, to transport any Officers or Soldiers, or other Person whatsoever, except known Merchants, and Persons of known Quality, not belonging to the Army, without a Pass from the Lords Justices, or the General of the Army.* The Papists on the Frontiers were very angry at us, and gave constant Intelligence to the Enemy of all our Affairs; by which means our Men, in small numbers, were often surprized and murdered, and several other Inconveniences fell out; so that a Proclamation came out on the 26th, *Forbidding all Papists to dwell within Ten Miles of the Frontiers: And another bearing the same Date, Commanding all the Wives, Children, and Dependants upon any of the Irish in King James's Army, or of those who had been kill'd, or taken in that Service, to remove beyond the River Shannon, by such a Day, or else to be proceeded against as Enemies and Spies.* And accordingly most of them went, having a Guard to conduct them to our Frontiers. And a Third there was dated that day also, *Forbidding any of the Protected Irish to Harbour any that belonged to the late King's Army, or that robb'd and plundered the Countrey in the Night.* And because Coals were now very scarce at Dublin, and other Firing not coming in so plentifully as formerly, some Days before this, there was a Proclamation published, *Promising Protection to all Ships and Mariners that should be employed in transporting Coals from any part of the Kingdom of England, or Wales, to the City of Dublin.* One there came out on the 30th, *Forbidding all people to buy any Goods but in open Markets, because several Abuses were committed by the Soldiers, taking peoples Goods, and selling them at an undervalue.* And on the 7th of October there was another Proclamation, *Forbidding any to pretend to be Soldiers in Colonel Fouks, and Colonel Herbert's Regiments, that were not; Those two Regiments being then in Town, and several Abuses committed that way; and some of the Soldiers affronting the Militia, had like one Night to have made a great deal of Mischief; upon which the Alarm was beat, and several people wounded, one or two being kill'd out-right.*

By this time the Soldiers every where had got to Quarters, *All the Army and it was propos'd by several Justices of the Peace, and De-* in Quarters.
puty:

September.

puty-Lieutenants in the Countrey, That if the Soldiers would be quiet, and not take things at their own hands, the Countrey should find them with Meat and Drink, with whatever else they could reasonably think on; which was very well liked by some Colonels, but others, for their own Gains sake, ordered the Countrey-people to bring in most of their Corn to such and such places, and secured it for their own private use, allowing the Soldiers in the mean time to do what they would. This made the *Irish* and *English* both plundered at all hands; and if by chance an *Englishman* had any thing left, the *Rapparees* being stript of what they had themselves, were ready to come in the Night, and steal that; by which things were not in such order as good Men could have wished.

But before I go any farther this way, it will be convenient to look back, and see how Major General *Scravemore*, and his Party went on, and how the business of *Cork* and *Kingale* was managed.

On the 17th of September Major General *Scravemore* and Major General *Tatteau*, sent Colonel *Donap* to burn the Bridge of *Mallow*, and to view the Castle; which he did, and brought an Account of a Body of *Rapparees*, to the number of about Three Thousand, that were not far off; upon which they sent out a Party of an Hundred Horse, and Fifty Dragoons, under Major *Fittinkboft*, designing themselves to follow; but he succeeded so well, that he routed the *Irish*, and kill'd near Three Hundred of them, getting a great many Silver-hilted Swords, and some fine Horses amongst the Plunder.

My Lord Marlborough lands at Cork, joyned by Major General *Scravemore*.

On the 21st of September the Earl of *Marlborough* came into *Cork* Road with the *English* Fleet, having on board Brigadier *Trelawney's*, Lord *Marlborough's* Phusileers, Princess *Anna's* Regiment, Colonel *Hastings*, Colonel *Hales*, Sir *David Collier's*, Colonel *Fitz-Patrick's*, an Hundred of the Duke of *Bolton's*, and Two Hundred of the Earl of *Monmouth's*, under Major *Johnson*, my Lord *Terrington's*, and my Lord *Pembroke's* Marine Regiments; and sending an Express to Major General *Scravemore*, and Major General *Tatteau*, they marched immediately to joyn his Lordship.

The 22^d the Lord *Marlborough*, with his Fleet, entred the Harbour, receiving some Shot as they passed, from a Fort of Eight

Eight Guns; but sending some Boats a-shore, the Enemy were *September.* obliged to quit their Battery, and the Guns taken.

The 23^d, in the Morning the Army landed, and on the 24th Five or Six Hundred Seamen, and others, of the Marine Regiment, were employed to draw the Cannon along, and to mount them before the Town, which they did with great cheerfulness, and the Duke of *Grafton* at the Head of them, tho' Two Troops of Dragoons, and a Body of Foot appeared without the Town; but our Men firing some Field-Pieces upon them, they retired. That Day the Duke of *Wirtemberg* sent Dean *Davis* to my Lord *Marlborough* and Major General *Scravemore*, to give them an account, that he was marching to joyn them with a Detachment of Four Thousand Foot. There was then a Report, that the Duke of *Berwick* designed to raise the Siege; and therefore Major General *Scravemore* sent the Dean back to hasten the Duke's March, and the next day ordered a Party of Horse to go and cover the Duke's Foot. The same Afternoon Major General *Tatteau*, with a Party of a Thousand Men, having drawn down some Cannon to the *Fair Hill*, resolved to attack one or both of the *New Forts*, and *New Shanon Castle*; but no sooner were his Men posted in order to that Design, but the Enemy set Fire on the Suburbs between him and them, and having deserted both the Forts and Castle, retired in haste into the City.

On the 26th the Prince of *Wyttemberg*, with his *Danes*, and a Detachment of *Dutch* and *French* Foot, came, and encamp'd on the North side the Town. *And the Duke of Wirtemberg.*

We now being in possession of *Shanon Castle*, planted our Guns there, and played them both into the Fort and Town, and Major General *Scravemore*, with his Horse, took up his Quarters at *Cill Abbey*. *A Battery planted at Cork.*

The 27th, the Enemy having deserted their Works at the *Cat-Fort*, without a blow struck, we were Masters of it, and planted a Battery there, playing our Bombs into the City, and our Guns upon the Fort, from the *Friars-Garden*, and another Battery above the Fort, near the *Abby*. There was also a Church in our possession, into the Steeple of which Major General *Scravemore* sent Lieutenant *Townsend* with a Party (laying Boards cross the Beams for them to stand upon), who did good Service in galling the *Irish* within the Fort. Another Bat-

September.

Battery of Three Thirty Six Pounders was made by Red Abbey, which playing against the City-Wall, made a Breach; whereupon they came to a Treaty, whereon a Truce was granted till next Morning.

The 28th, the Enemy not accepting the Conditions that were proposed, our Cannon began to play very furiously, which made a considerable Breach; and when the Enemy began to appear on the Wall near it, they were raked off by our small Ordnance from the *Cast*. Last Night a Captain, Lieutenant, and Forty Men, were posted in the *Brick-Yard*, near *Gill Abby*, to hinder the Enemy from making their Escape that way through the Marsh; and accordingly some attempting it about Midnight, Captain *Swiney*, and Four more were kill'd, and Captain *Mackertey* taken, (being wounded,) and the rest forced to retire to the City again. About One a Clock that Afternoon, the *Danes* from the *North*, and Four Regiments of *English* from the *South*, under Brigadier *Churchil*, passed the River into the *East-Marsh*, in order to storm the Breach that was made there in the City-Wall: They passed the Water up to the Arm-pits; the *Granadeers* under my Lord *Colebester* led the Van, and marched forwards, exposed to all the Enemies Fire: There went on Volunteers with this Detachment, the Duke of *Grafton*, the Lord *O Brian*, Colonel *Grawvill*, and a great many more. Immediately the Van posted themselves under the Bank of the Marsh, (which seemed to be a Counterscarp to the City-Wall,) in which Approach the Duke of *Grafton* received a mortal Wound on the point of his Shoulder. The *Salamander* also, and another Vessel, which came up the Morning-Tide, lay at the Marsh-end, directly before the Wall, playing their Cannon at the Breach, as likewise throwing Bombs into the City. In the midst of which Purther my Lord *Tyrome*, and Lieutenant Colonel *Rycatt* came out, (having beat a Parley before) and made Articles for its Surrender; which were these:

*The Garrison
surrendered.*

I. That the Garrison should be received Prisoners of War, and there should be no prejudice done to the Officers, Soldiers, or Inhabitants.

II. That the General would use his endeavour to obtain His Majesties Clemency towards them.

III. That

of the Affairs of Ireland.

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III. That they should deliver up the Old Fort within an Hour, September. and the Two Gates of the City the next Day at Eight in the Morning.

IV. That all the Protestants that are in Prison, shall be forthwith released.

V. That all the Arms of the Garrison, and Inhabitants, should be put into a secure place. And

VI. That an exact Account should be given of the Magazines, as well Provision as Ammunition.

In the Evening the Fort was surrendered, and the Protestant Prisoners set at Liberty.

On the 29th in the Morning, many Seamen, and other loose persons, entred into the City through the Breach, and other places, and plundered many Houses, especially of Papiests. But as soon as the Bridge could be mended, the Earl of Marlborough, Duke of Wyrtemberg, and Maj. Gen. Seravemore entred, and took much pains to save the City from further Damage. In the Afternoon all Papiests were ordered by Proclamation, on pain of Death to deliver up their Arms, and repair to the East Marsh, where all that had been in Arms were secured, and put under Guards, the Officers in the County Court-House, amongst whom were the Earls of Glencarty and Tyrone, Colonel Mark Ellicat, the Governour, Lieutenant Colonel Ryant, &c. the rest, to the number of between Four and Five Thousand, were secured in other places.

The Number of the Prisoners.

The County of Cork was formerly a Kingdom, and is the most fertile Country in Ireland: This Kingdom was granted in the Time of Henry the Second, to Sir Robert Fitz Stephen, and Sir Miles de Cogan, in these Words, Know ye that I have granted the whole Kingdom of Cork (excepting the City, and Cantred of the Oultmans) to hold for them and their Heirs, of Me, and John My Son, by the Service of Sixty Knights. At Cork was born one Brilork, a Famous Saint in the Days of Old.

The same Afternoon a Party of about Five hundred Horse were sent under Brigadeer Villars to invest Kingsale; he sent a Trumpeter at his Approach to summon the Town, but the Governor threatened to hang him up for bringing such a Message, and then set fire to the Town, and retreated to the Old Fort;

September.

which our Horse seeing, rid in, and quenched the Fire, killing seven or eight of the Irish that they found in Town.

On the 30th. a Party of our Foot marched to *Five-mile-House*, towards *King'sale*, and the Magistrates of *Cork* reassuming their Places, proclaim'd King *William* and Queen *Mary*, and put the Place into some order.

October.

The Army
marches to
King'sale.

On the First of *October* the Earl of *Marlborough* marched out of *Cork* to *Five-mile Bridge*; and the next day came near the Town, then in the possession of our own Men: Towards the Evening the Lord *Marlborough* posted his Men towards the New Fort, and Major General *Trotter*, with 800 Men, the next morning early passed the River in Boats, & stormed the Old Fort, in which he succeeded very well: Several Barrels of Powder at the same time accidentally taking fire, blew up nigh Forty of the Enemy: the rest flying into an old Castle in the midst of the Fort, were a great many of them kill'd before they got thither, and all that made resistance, as we scaled the Walls were cut in pieces: So that of 450 Men in this Fort, about 200 were blown up and kill'd, and the rest submitting to Mercy, were made Prisoners. Some endeavoured to escape to the New Fort by Water, but were most of them kill'd from the Shore. The Governor and several Officers that would have prevented our Men from coming over, were killed upon the Ramparts.

The Old Fort
taken.

The New one
besieged.

My Lord *Marlborough* having gained this Fort, resolves to make as quick work as he could with the New one; for the Weather was now very bad; and Provisions were growing scarce; and withal, his Men began to fall sick, which made him judge it was the best way to attack the Place briskly, in which he was like to lose fewer Men, than if by lying long before it, he should have it surrendered: He sends a Summons however to the Governor to surrender, who return'd him answer, *That it would be time enough to talk of that a Month hence.* Whereupon the Cannon being planted, we began to batter the Fort in two Places, the *Danes* on the Left, and the *English* on the Right. On the Fifth of *October* the Trenches were opened, and on the Ninth we were got nigh the Counterscarp. On the Twelfth in the Morning Six Pieces of Cannon were mounted at the *Danes* Attack, and Two Mortars at the *English*, which fired all day, and the Mortars continued all night. On the

Batteries raised.

Thirteenth

October.

Thirteenth Two Guns of Twenty four pound Ball were planted on the *English* Battery, and on the Fourteenth Three more; for the *Danes* on their side had made a pretty large Breach. We then sprung a Mine with very good success, and were preparing to spring another; and being Masters of the Counter-scarp, on the Fifteenth the Cannon plaid all the Morning, and every thing was ready to lay our Galleries over the Ditch: But at one a Clock the Enemy beat a Parly, and desired a Treaty about the Surrendry of the Fort; which being done, the Articles were agreed to and signed, by which the middle Bastion was to be delivered up next Morning, and the Garrison (being about 1200 Men) to march out the day after, with their Arms and Baggage, and be conducted to *Limerick*. We had kill'd and wounded in our several Attacks about 200; but a great many more were sick and dead by reason of bad Weather. In this Fort we received a very considerable Magazine, and great plenty of all sorts of Provisions, sufficient to have supported a thousand Men for a Year; there were 1000 Barrels of Wheat, 1000 Barrels of Beef, Forty Tuns of Clar-rer, a great quantity of Sack, Brandy, and strong Beer. My Lord *Marleborough* did a considerable piece of Service in reducing those Places, which will be of great advantage to the next Campaign.

The Fort sur-
rendred.

(In October, 1601. *Don John d' Aquila* landed at *Kingsale* from *Spain*, with an Army to assist the *Irish* against *Queen Elizabeth*, calling himself *Master General and Captain of the Catholick King in the War of God, for bolding and keeping the Faith in Ireland*: But by the Courage and Industry of *Sir Charles Blunt* Baron *Mountjoy*, then Lord Deputy, the *Irish* were defeated, and the *Spaniards* forced to go home upon dishonourable Terms.)

But to return again to *Dublin*, and the Affairs of that part of the Kingdom. On the 18th of October the Blue *Dutch* Guards set sail for *England*, and a day or two afterwards landed Colonel *Mathews's* Dragoons and Count *Schenberg's* Horse from thence. And now after the taking of *Cork* and *Kingsale*, part of the *Irish* Army that was in *Kerry* made several Incur-sions, and burnt all the Towns and Villages of the Counties of *Cork*, and *Limerick*, that had hitherto escap'd. My Lord Duke of *Berwick* dined in *Charlevoil-house*, one of the Second-rate Houses of these Kingdoms, built by the late Earl of *Orrery*,
and

October.

and after Dinnor order'd it to be fir'd, and staid to see it in Ashes. And those of the *Irish* Army that lay between *Limerick* and *Arblone*, burnt *Balliboy*, wherein were Six Companies of my Lord *Drogheda's* Regiment: The thing was thus. Lieut. Col. *Bristow* was at the Breaking-up of the Camp at *Birr* order'd to *Kilkormack* Castle, a considerable Pass, and within Two Miles of *Balliboy*; but he liking *Balliboy* better, as a Place of more Forrage and Shelter for the Men, quitted the other, and took most of his Men into that open Village; which the *Irish* having notice of, came in the night, and lay in the Hedges nigh the Town. Our Men had heard of the designed Attempt the day before, and desired Colonel *Bristow* to deliver out Ammunition; but he apprehending no danger, took no care to prepare for such a Mischiefe: However, our Men sate up all that night, and sent out a Lieutenant, with Twenty Men mounted, to learn Tidings of the Enemy, who returned without discovering any, for they were all this while close in the Hedges. After *Revallia*, the Officers and Soldiers, thinking all safe, went to their Lodgings, all but the ordinary Guard: They had not been dispersed half an hour, till the *Irish* set both ends of the Town on fire. The Officers and Soldiers made what haste they could to a Mount towards the middle of the Town, where they staid till a Party of Dragoons came from *Birr* to their Relief; for the *Irish* after some small time drew off, and would not adventure to force them from the Mount, tho' they were four times our number. We had about Twenty eight kill'd, and some wounded: And Captain *Henry Gore*, as he was going towards the Mount, had a Rencounter with some of the *Irish* Granadeers, in which with Club-Musket he had his Jaw-bone broke, and several Wounds on the Head; but he is since recover'd. We kill'd several of the Enemy, both in the Streets, and in the Houses that they went to plunder.

The 21th. some of the *Rapparees* march'd towards *Philipstown* in the *King's County*. A Party of ours going out to discover them, took two of their Officers and hanged them. And the 23^d. being the Anniversary of the former *Irish* Rebellion, was kept with great Solemnity; a Proclamation being issued out the day before, commanding the Sixteenth of *November* to be kept as a day of Thanksgiving, for preserving the King, and

and reducing three entire Provinces: Which accordingly was obey'd.

October.

On the 18th. there came an Account from *Meerscourt* in the County of *West-Meath*, that part of the Enemies Forces advanced from *Lanesborough* in the County of *Longford*, and came within six Miles of *Meerscourt*, but retreated without any harm done to either side. If I am not much mistaken, when we left *Limerick*, it was our Business (and Advice was given accordingly) to secure all the Passes upon the *Sbanon*; which had been easie at that time, our Army being together, and in the Field; for these, and the Castles all along by the *Sbanon* side, might easily have been made tenable, where our Men might have been secure, and had a very plentiful Country at their Backs for their Relief; and then might have made Incursions into *Conaught* when they pleased: But in stead of that, we retired further into the Country, and left them all the Passes and Forts upon the *Sbanon*; by which means they are not to be kept in their own Province, as they might have been, but can both keep us out, and also come amongst us when they have a mind to it.

About this time the Enemy gave leave to several Protestants to come off, who gave account, that all things were very scarce amongst them, Wheat being generally about Ten pound (Brass Money) a Barrel; Malt, Nine pound; Brandy, Three pound a Quart; Ale, Two Shillings six pence; Mens Shooes, Thirty shillings; Salt, Twenty shillings a Quart: And that the Irish Army were in a very miserable condition in all respects. And yet it was not so bad as 'twas reported. This Week the Lords Justices had an Account, That one Captain *Long*, formerly Master of a Ship, was in February last surpris'd in the Bay of *Killibeggs* in the North of Ireland, and taken Prisoner to *Galloway*; but whilst he was there he so ordered the Matter, as with the help of some Protestants he seized upon a Frigate, and brought her from *Galloway* to *Carigfergus*: She had Twelve Guns and Four Patereroes. And about the beginning of November, a French Ship of thirty Tuns, loaden with Brandy and Salt, sailed into the Port of *King'sale*, coming to an Anchor under the New Fort, believing that Place still to be in the Hands of the Irish: but the Ship was soon boarded by our Men, and made a Prize.

A Ship brought off from Galloway.

November.

The

November.

His Majesties
Birth-day.
Dublin Militia.

The Fourth of November, being His Majesties Birth-day, was observed with all the Splendour that Place could afford, all the Town Militia were drawn out, being 2500 Foot, two Troops of Horse, and two of Dragoons, all well Cloathed and Armed; and at night the Lords Justices made an Entertainment for the most Considerable Persons in and about the Town: The next day also being the Fifth of November, was observed according to the Act of Parliament. By this time Commissions being given out for Lords Lieutenants and Deputy Lieutenants; as also for Officers of the Militia in the Country, they had got Arms, and were in a pretty good Condition. And on the First day of the Term, Mr. Sergeant Osburn, Their Majesties Serjeant at Law, moved the Court of King's Bench, for Writs of *Certiorari*, to remove all Indictments of High Treason, found in several Counties of this Kingdom, against those in Rebellion against the King and Queen, which was granted, and Writs issued out accordingly; Proposals were made also by the Commissioners for the Forfeited Estates, to set Leases for a year of all Lands, that are Forfeited in this Kingdom, but I did not hear of many Tenants; for amongst other things there Proposed, the Farmer must give in an Exact Account of the Acres both Arable and Pasture, of the Farm he designs to take contains; and if upon view it appears to be more, than to pay 28 s. for every Acre of Arable, and 5 s. for every Acre of Pasture that was over-plus; this indeed is a good way to get an Account of all the Lands, but not to make any Benefit to the King of them, for I'm afraid several Acres will not yield 20 s. in many years.

An Exploit of
Captain Archer's.

On Tuesday the 13th. of November, Captain Archer, one of the Militia, had a scuffle with the Raparees in the County of Wicklow, kill'd about Five, and took Twenty three Prisoners, with the loss of Five or six of his own Men; and about this time the Enemy burnt Philip's Town (the chief Town in the King's County; so called from King Philip, as Mary Borough is from Queen Mary; for in this Reign those two Counties were settled, and part of them given to Thomas Ratcliff Earl of Sussex) though we had a Garrison in it; for they came from a great adjacent Bog in the Night, and having set the Town on Fire, retreated thither again. At this time Lieutenant General Ginkle, who Commands in Chief over His Majesties Forces in Ireland,

The General
comes to Dub-
lin.

came

came to *Dublin*, and on the Thirteenth Published several Orders and Rules; how the Army should be subsisted, and the Country paid and secured, which are too long to insert, but very Commendable if they had been observed. And the General and Lords Justices consulting together, the Justices send out a Proclamation the Fourteenth, for regulating the Quartering the Army, and ascertaining the Rates of things; as what should be paid by each Soldier for all sorts of Provisions, and Confirming the General's Orders Published the day before. We had News brought from *Limerick*, by a Lieutenant that deserted, of several Inconveniencies the Enemy were put to, but these were only true in part: there was a Report also, that a supply of Arms, Ammunition, and Money was come from *France*, and this was true in some respect; for at that time there was a Ship with Arms, Ammunition, and some Provisions on Board, with about Sixty Officers designed for *Limerick*, but cast away in that River, and all the Men lost.

The Rapparees all this while were very busy about *Cashell* and *Clonmel*, and did a great deal of mischief: this occasioned some of our Army to join part of the Militia, who went towards *Cullen*, and burnt the Corn, bringing away a good Booty without any opposition.

The Fifteenth of November Colonel *Byerly's* Horse marched from *Dublin* to Mount *Nelick*, a Village towards the Frontiers; and on the 19th the Lords Justices Publish a Proclamation, Declaring, That if any of their Majesties Protestants Subjects had their Houses or Haggards burnt; or were Robb'd or Plundered by the Rapparees, such Losses should be repaid by the Popish Inhabitants of that County. And in regard the Popish Priests had great Influence over their Voraries, it was ordered, That if any Rapparees exceeding the Number of Ten were seen in a Body, no Popish Priest should have liberty to reside in such a County. And it was further declared, That the Government would not give Protection to any Person that had a Son in the Enemies Quarters, unless such Son return to Their Majesties Obedience, before the Tenth of December next following. And in regard at this time the Government was apprehensive of some danger nigh *Dublin* it self, they Publish a Proclamation the 22^d. That all Papists, who have not been noted House-keepers in the City of *Dublin* for Three Months last past, were

November.

within Forty eight Hours to depart, at least Ten Miles from the City, or else to be proceeded against as Spies; and that not above Five Papists should meet together upon any Pretext whatever.

A Plot discovered.

About the 24th. there was great talk of a Design discovered to the Lords Justices, of sending a Supply, of Meal Salt, Tobacco, Brandy, and several other things, from *Dublin* to the Enemies Quarters. Those who were carrying these things were pursued, and overtaken in the County of *Kildare*, upon a By Road: they all made their escapes however; but one of them being a Woman, dropt a Petticoat, in which was found a Letter, and also another in a Rowl of Tobacco, which gave grounds to believe, that a Correspondence was kept between the Papists in *Dublin* and the Enemy beyond the *Shanon*; and therefore on Sunday Night the 30th. of *November* a general search was made through the City, and most of the Papists secured. This Piece of Service the Militia performed very dextrously, without noise or suspicion, till the thing was done.

A List of the Privy-Council.

The last Packquets from *England*, brought a List of the Privy Council, appointed by His Majesty for the Kingdom of *Ireland*, as also of several of the Judges: The Council were, The Lord Primate, the Lord Chancellor, Lord Treasurer, Archbishop of *Dublin*, Duke of *Ormond*, Earl of *Meath*, Earl of *Drogheda*, Earl of *Longford*, Earl of *Renelab*, Earl of *Granard*, Viscount *Lisburn*, Bishop of *Meath*, *Robert Fitz-Gerrald* Esq; the Vice Treasurer, Chancellor of the Exchequer, Chief Justice of the King's Bench, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, the Chief Baron of the Exchequer, Master of the Rolls, Secretary of State, Master of Ordnance, Sir *Henry Fane*, Sir *Charles Merideth*, *William Hill of Hillsborough* Esquire. On Monday the First of *December*, several of the said Persons attended the Lords Justices at the Council Chamber, and there took the usual Oaths of Privy Councillors. The Judges named for the Respective Courts in *Dublin* were, Sir *Richard Reynoll*, Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, Sir *Richard Stephens*, one of the Justices of the same Court, Mr. Justice *London* being formerly sworn there: In the Common Pleas, Mr. Justice *Jesfordson*, Mr. Justice *Cox* being formerly sworn there: In the Exchequer, *Jo. Healy* Esq; Lord Chief Baron, and Sir *Standish Hartstorn* one of the Barons of the Court, Mr. Baron *Ecklin* being formerly

merly sworn there. This day we had News of the Enemies *December.*
passing the *Sbanon* at several Places, and Orders were sent to
our Frontiers to be in readiness; and Colonel *Gustavus Hambleton*
sent a Party from *Birr* towards *Portumna*, who met with a Par-
ty of the Enemy, which they routed, killing some, and
brought off two Officers, with Eleven Prisoners being Dragoons
and Foot.

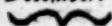
December the 2d. A Proclamation was issued out by the Lords *December.*
Justices and Council, forbidding all Their Majesties Subjects
of *Ireland*, to use any Trade with *France*, or to hold any Cor-
respondence or Communication with the *French* King or his
Subjects: This was the first that was Signed by the Council,
and these were present, viz. *Fran. Dublin, Drogheda, Longford,*
Granard, Lisburn, Robert Fitz-Gerald, Anth. Meath, Charles
Merideth.

We had at that time an Account from *Cork*, that on the
22d. of *November* last there were 60 of our Horse and Foot, who
met with near Five hundred of the Rapparees, in the Barony
of *West Carberry* near *Castlehaven*; our Men at that disadvan-
tage Retreated towards *Castlehaven*, the Enemy followed in
the Rear, and fired at a distance several times, our Party facing
about killed Nine; and afterwards being Attackt again, they
killed one *Brown* an Ensign of the Enemies. The Enemy next
day Besieged *Castletown*, an House near *Castlehaven*; they were
Commanded by *O Donovan, O Driscoll*, and one *Barry*: As they
approached the House, our Men killed Twelve of them;
this put them into an humour of Retreating, though one
Captain *Mackronine* with his Sword drawn endeavoured to hin-
der them; but he and some more of the Party being kill'd,
the rest got away as well as they could. Several of them had
Bundles of Straw fastned upon their Breasts instead of Armour;
but this was not Proof, for about Thirty of them were killed
upon the Spot, amongst whom were young Colonel *O Driscoll*,
Captain *Tiege O Donovan*, besides several that went off Wound-
ed; we lost only two Men.

Castletown
Besieged.

At this time Colonel *Byerley* being at *Mountmelick* with part of *Rapparees de-*
his own Regiment, and some of Colonel *Earl's* Foot, he was *feated.*
frequently Allarumed; as well by Parties of the *Irish* Army, as
by Considerable Numbers of the Rapparees, who had a design
to burn the Town, as they had done several others thereabouts;

December.



but the Colonel was very watchful, and kept good Intelligence (a main Matter in this Affair.) He was told of a Party that designed to burn the Town; and he took care to have all his Men, both Horse and Foot, in readiness to welcome them; but they heard of his Posture and durst not venture; however on the Third of December he had notice of a Body of Rapparees, that were not far from the Town, and designed him a mischief; he sends out Lieutenant Dent with Twenty Horse, and ordered each Horseman to take a Musqueteer behind him; when the Horse came almost within sight of the Rapparees, they dropt their Foot, who marched closely behind the Hedges unperceived by the Enemy. When the Enemy espied so small a Party of Horse, they Advanced from the side of the Bog towards them; the Horse seem'd to Retreat a little, till the Rapparees were Advanced within Musquet-shot of our Foot, who firing amongst them, kill'd several, and then Lieutenant Dent fell in with his Horse; as also the Foot Charged them a second time, that after some resistance they kill'd Thirty nine, and took Four, whom they hanged without any further Ceremony. The rest escaped to the Bogs, and in a moment all disappeared; which may seem strange to those that have not seen it, but something of this kind I have seen my self; and those of this Party assured me, that after the Action was over, some of them looking about amongst the Dead, found one Dun a Serjeant of the Enemies, who was lying like an Otter, all under Water in a running Brook, (except the top of his Nose and his Mouth;) they brought him out, and although he proffer'd Forty Shillings in English Money to save his Life (a great Ransom as he believed) yet he was one of the Four that was hanged.

How the Rapparees conceal themselves and their Arms.

When the Rapparees have no mind to show themselves upon the Bogs, they commonly sink down between two or three little Hills, grown over with long Grass, so that you may as soon find a Hair as one of them: they conceal their Arms thus, they take off the Lock and put it in their Pocket, or hide it in some dry Place; they stop the Muske close with a Cork, and the Tutch-hole with a small Quil, and then throw the Piece it self into a running Water or a Pond; you may see an hundred of them without Arms, who look like the poorest humblest Slaves in the World, and you may search till you are weary before you find one Gun: but yet when they have a mind

mind to do mischief, they can all be ready in an Hours warning, *December.*
for every one knows where to go and fetch his own Arms, though you do not.

About this time the Lords Justices Ordered Four Long Boats, *Boats fitted up to be sent to the Shannon.* like Men of Wars Pinnaces, to be fitted up with Pattereros and little small Guns, the Sides to be fortified with Boards and other Materials, and those to be filled with a hundred Choice Men, commanded by Captain *Hoord*, who had been Provost Martial, but turned out for some Irregular things, and was resolved to do some desperate Service to be readmitted. These Boats were to be drawn upon Carriages to the *Shannon*, and there put in; the Design was very plausible, and might have done Service if pursued; for there are several Islands in the *Shannon*, wherein the *Irish* have very considerable Riches; and besides, *Hoord* and his Men designed to make Incursions into the Enemies Country, and to burn and destroy all before them; if a small Party appear'd, then they would fight them, but if a great Body, then they could retreat to their Fleet, and go away to another Place: And further, one design of those Boats, was to carry over a part of our Army (at least their Necessaries) that shortly designed an Expedition beyond the *Shannon*; but the Boats were stop't beyond *Mullingar* and ordered to go no further.

Nigh this time, one *Kirowen*, an *Irish* Officer, came from *Asblone* to *Mullingar*, he pretended to be a Deserter, and told a fair Story; but next day a Protestant that made his escape, gave an Account, that he was a Spy, and had some bad Designs; upon which being examined and searched, he had on a Pair of Breeches, made of the Petticoat of a Gentlewoman whom he had murdered, and upon strict examination of his Boy and others, it appear'd, that he was sent on purpose to burn the Garrison, so was the *Saturday* following hanged for his pains. There was also a Discourse, as if the Papists had a design to burn *Dublin* when the *Irish* Army was to approach, which they expected every day: this was discovered by a Letter from Lieutenant Colonel *Woogan's* Lady to him in *Limerick*: the Letter was intercepted, and gave an Account, that the Protected Papists were ready to join with the *Irish* Army in doing us what mischief they could; upon which most of them were secured (as I have said) but however those of them that would take the Oath of

ecember.

of Allegiance to K. W. and Q. M. were released (but the refusers kept in Prison,) yet were Ordered by a Proclamation from the Lords Justices and Council *December* the Eighth, to obey the former Orders, in removing from *Dublin*, and all Their Majesties Garrisons on the Frontiers. And several of the Papists who had Sons in the Enemies Quarters, having made Application to the Lords Justices, for further time to bring them in, pursuant to a Proclamation *November* the 19th. they set out another *December* the 8th, allowing them time till the Tenth of *January*; but for all this, I heard of very few that came over. Another Proclamation was Dated the same day, Ordering all the Laws in that Kingdom, for the Restraining the Exportation of Wooll, to be put in Execution, except to *England* and *Wales* only, and this with Licence after the usual manner.

We had an Account from *Clonmel*, that Captain *Archer*, with a Militia Troop, met with a Party of the *Irish*, kill'd Twenty five, and took a Booty of Three hunder'd Cows, with several other things. And Colonel *Woolfsley* sent word, that what Provisions and Ammunition were sent to the *North*, were safely arrived, his Men having kill'd Eight of the *Irish* the day before, and hang'd Three Spies. And about the middle of *December*, we had News from *Limerick* by a Deserter, that all things were very scarce, the Soldiers wanting both Meat and Cloaths. But Lieutenant *Kelly*, who was taken Prisoner at *Birr*, and now released, says the *Irish* are not in so very bad a Condition, because they have got nigh Ten thousand Horse load of Corn out of the County of *Kerry* this Winter, which possible we might as well have had as they, if we had been as diligent.

Nigh this time one *Mack Finin*, one of the Prisoners that escaped from *Cork* (as they say a great many did by sinister means) marched with a Party of about 400 of the Army and Rapparees towards *Iniskeen* in the County of *Cork*, and finding it guarded, they went to *Castlesown*, where there was a Lieutenant and Thirty Dragoons; they defended the Place bravely for some time, killing Ten of the Enemy, but their Ammunition being spent, and having Five of their Men kill'd, they were forced to surrender upon Quarter, but the Lieutenant was afterwards murdered, though a Party coming from *Iniskeen* from Major *Cullisford*, set upon the *Irish*, kill'd Twelve, and took Five Prisoners.

The

The Lords Justices and Council now fearing, that in those Houses where there dwelt Papists, if any publick Trade was kept, as to the selling of Ale, Wine, Coffee, &c. they might be Plotting and Contriving Mischief; therefore they Publish a Proclamation, *December the 12th.* That no Papist shall keep a Publick House in or about the City of *Dublin*, after the 25th. of *December* next. And now His Majesty designing for *Holland*, and having thoughts of making my Lord *Sidney* one of the Secretaries of State, sent for him over, who on *Monday the 15th. of December* Embarked with a Fair Wind for *Chester*, leaving every one sorry for his departure, in that by his Affable and Courteous Demeanor, and his Diligence in His Majesties Service, he had gain'd the Hearts of all People. And on the 24th. Sir *Charles Porter*, one of the Lords Justices came from *England*, who on the 29th. was sworn Lord Chancellor, receiving the Purse and Great Seal from the late Commissioners.

We had now a part of our Army on their March towards *Lanesborough-Pass*, Commanded by Major General *Kirk* and Sir *John Laneir*; the Foot were my Lord *Lisburn's* Regiment, my Lord *George Hambleton's*, part of Col. *Brewer's*, some of Major General *Kirk's*, and several others: A Party of the *Militia* also were ordered from *Dublin*, and those in the Country were to be up on all hands. At the same time Lieutenant General *Douglas* was to march towards *Sligo*, and fall upon the *Irish* on that side.

On *Wednesday*, the 31st of *December*, part of our Army under Colonel *Brewer*, went towards *Lanesborough*: The Enemy appeared on the Bog on this side the Town, being, as they say, nigh Three Thousand, and had cut several Trenches cross the Causeys that go through the Bog towards the Town; these they disputed for some time, but losing some of their Men, they retired into Town, and from thence to beyond the *Shannon*, defacing the Fort on this side, and breaking the Bridge behind them: (You'll say they were not very closely pursued that had time to do all this) However, our Men took possession of the Town and Fort, as they had left it; and if we had had the Boats, we might have gone over, the Enemy quitting the other side for at least Three Days; but then we were too small a Party: and before the rest of our Men came up, Three Regiments of the *Irish* were posted on the other

December.

*Part of the
Army march to
Lanesbo-
rough.*

December.

other side the River ; and then little hapned of moment, only some small Firings, and sometimes they made Truces, Colonel Clifford, and the other *Irish* Officers drinking Healths over to our Men, and those on our side returning the Complement.

When this Party marched to *Lanesborough*, there was a Detachment of 300 Men out of *L. Drogheda's*, *Sir Jo. Hammer's*, and *Col. Hambleton's* Regiments, ordered from *Bir* to joyn them ; and so to cross the Country from *Bir* to *Mullingar* : But in their March they were set upon by about Fifteen Hundred of the *Irish* Army, and *Rapparees* : Our Party had but Thirty Dragoons with them, and the Enemy brought several Squadrons of Horse ; and though we were attack'd for at least Five Hours together, and that at several places of great disadvantage, yet they fought their way through, and went that Night to *Mountmelick*, having lost only Six Men, and Captain *Jeffreys*, of *Sir John Hammer's* Regiment : but the *Irish* got all our Baggage. This Party was commanded by Lieutenant Colonel *Brisfow*, and Major *Caulfield*.

Rapparees in
the Bog of Allen.

The *Rapparees* by this time were got to the end of the Bog of *Allen*, about Twelve Miles from *Dublin* (this Bog is the largest in *Ireland* ; for it reaches through a great part of the Country, from hence as far as *Athlone*, and is at least Forty Miles in length, having several Islands full of Woods in the midst of it) : These robb'd and plundered the Country all about ; for they had an Island on this end of the Bog, which they fortified ; coming out in the Night, and doing all the Mischief they could. This being so nigh *Dublin*, it made a great noise ; so that Colonel *Fouks*, with his own Regiment, part of Colonel *Cutt's*, and some of the *Militia*, marched out towards them ; and coming near them in the Night, at a place called *Tougher Greggs*, at the entrance of the Bog of *Allen* ; he stay'd there till it was light, and then advanced upon the Causey, (having Three Field-Pieces along with him.) The *Irish* at first seem'd to defend the Place, but as we went forwards, they quitted their Posts, leaving our Men to fill up the Trenches they had made cross the Causey, (being Twelve in number.) Colonel *Fouks* marched his Horse over, and so went to the Island of *Allen*, where he found Lieutenant Colonel *Piper*, who had pass'd thither on the other side at the same rate : The *Irish* betook them-

Defeated by
Col. Fouks.

themselves to the Woods, and we only got some little things they had left. It's thought they had a Thousand Foot thereabouts, besides some Horse, though most of them that made this Disturbance at this place, were only Two Hundred Boys, with an old *Tory* their Commander.

And now the Lords Justices, and Council, issue our Two more Proclamations, one forbidding all Persons whatsoever, except the Lord Mayor, Recorder, and Sheriffs of Dublin, to administer the Oath, or give Certificates to the Papists: Because some took upon them, for Money, to certify they had sworn when they did not, or else gave them the Oath without the word *Allegiance*, as did Sir *Humphrey Fervace*, who was imprisoned, and fined Three Hundred Marks for it afterwards. The other Proclamation required all that had bought any of the Train-Horses, or Utensils, to bring them in by such a Day: For the Carters and Waggoners were very careless, and either sold the Horses, or suffered them to be stole.

About the time that Lieutenant General *Douglas*, and Major General *Kirk*, marched from the North and South, Major General *Tetteau* marched also in the West towards the County of *Kerry*, and if they all had pusht forwards at one time, it had been a great advantage to our Affairs next Campaign: All things seem'd to favour the Attempt, especially the Weather; better never being seen for the Season. Major General *Tetteau* marched from *Cork* December 28. and on the 29th was joyned by Brigadier *Churchill*, Sir *David Collier*, Colonel *Coy*, and a part of Colonel *Matthews's* Dragoons; and the day following they marched through the Country, which the *Irish* had for the most part burnt, after they had carried away whatever they could.

On New-Years-Day our Men attackt a Fort at a place called *Scronclard*, which was intended to hinder their passage that way: We took it in Two Hours, though it's said, the Enemy imploy'd 300 Men for Two Months to build it. (This shew'd their Diligence, though not their Courage; these Two Vertues are sometimes divided between us and them; but not always both on either side.) Near *Brewster's Field* we discovered some of the Enemies Scouts; whereupon Seventy of *Eppinger's* Dragoons, and Colonel *Coy's* Horse having the Advance-Guard, came near a Party of the Enemy of One Hundred

January.

January. and Sixty: These were mounted upon small Horses, and retreated, as did also their main Body, burning the Country. Our Men then went towards *Ros*, wherein the Enemy had a Garrison of Six Hundred Men, commanded by Colonel *Mac-karty*: We did not think fit to attack the Town, but went towards a Fort near it, which we attacked with Fifty *Danes*, and Fifty of the *King's* Militia: We carried the Fort, in which were Seventy Seven Men, of whom Fourteen swam towards a Rock, Five were taken, and the rest kill'd; Captain *Baenborg*, and Captain *Caroll*, the Commanders, were both wounded, the former with a Granade, and the other shot through the Leg. From thence we marched towards *Trake*, which the Enemy deserted, having therein Twenty One Troops of Dragoons, and Seven of Horse, Commanded by Colonel *Sheldon*. The Enemy were much alarm'd on this side, and if they had been pressed home on the other, it had been much for our Interest. But I heard of nothing further remarkable at *Lancborough*, except of one Captain *Edgworth's* defending a Pass with One Hundred Men against a much greater Body of the *Irish*; and after our Men had laid there in the Cold for nigh a Fortnight, they were ordered back, being much harassed with Cold and Hunger. The Boats were never brought to the River, and Lieutenant General *Douglas* went as far as *Jasper Town*, and then retired again into the *Norrib*, without doing anything remarkable. This indeed is to be said for both sides, That suppose our Men had passed the River at *Lancborough*, they must have gone Three Miles forwards before they could have seen any thing but Bogs and Woods: The *Irish* no doubt knew of their coming, and would have let them advance some Miles at least, and then resolved, with all the Force in their Power, to attack them; nor could Lieut. Gen. *Douglas* joyn them on a sudden; so that seeing our Men were inferior to theirs in number, it was not the safest to go into the midst of their Troops; and yet any that will but consider the Circumstances of the preceding Story, and put things together, will find, that it has been partly our own faults that *Ireland* has not been reduced already.

A short Description of the former State of Ireland.

The Soil of this Country is in all respects as good, if not better than that of *England*: And as to the People, though this Country was in the Infancy of Christianity, called *Sav-*

Barbari

Horum Patria, yet in process of Time the *Irish* did very much degenerate, and did in a manner turn perfect *Barbarians*; till at length they were partly civilized by the *English* Conquest of that Country: and yet as the Nature of Man is apt to decline than improve, instead of Reforming the *Irish*, a great many of the *English* did dwindle into mere *Irish*, both in Customs and Habit, and are the very People that we are subduing at this juncture, not One in Ten of them being of ancient *Irish* Extraction. Most part of the *North* of *Ireland* is at present inhabited by People from *Scotland*: The Reason of this may be, because of the Vicinity of those Two Nations at that place, they not being Three Hours Sail asunder, not else it is, because in the Ninth Year of King *James* the First, the *North* of *Ireland* being then in Rebellion, that King bestowed a New Title of Honour both in *England* and *Ireland*; for all such (the Number not exceeding, as I remember, Two Hundred in each Nation) as would maintain Thirty Soldiers a piece, for Three Years, at the rate of 8 *l.* per *annum*, in the Service of *Ireland* (and yet they were to be Gentlemen, and worth 1000 *l.* per *annum*), should be called *Baronets*; and made this Title Hereditary, adding to each Man an *Imperial* Coat the Arms of *Ulster*, which is in a Country as in *England*, which they please, in a Field Argent, a Smisser Hand Couped at the Wrist, Gules. But this, however, was more taken notice of by the *Scots* than the *English*; at least, a great many of them went over themselves in Person into *Ulster*; and after the Rebellion, had Lands assigned to them and their Posterity, whose Posterity enjoy them still: for his notice was to bid others.

As for the other Provinces in *Ireland*, (viz.) *English*, *Welsh*, and *Connacht*, they were generally inhabited with *English* and *Irish* intermix, though the *Irish* were in a manner Slaves to the *English*; and every Landlord was as absolute as a Prince among his own Tenants; but in all other respects they had the *English* Laws and Customs, and lived more plentifully than they did in any place of *England*. Some may justly wonder to hear of all those multitudes of Cattle which have been at several times taken from the *Irish*; but as they went off from any place, they still drove along all the *Englishmen* Stocks; and certainly the Country affords abundance, because it has never been thoroughly inhabited; for those places that might be improved

January. *Of the Present State of the Irish Army.* *And* tilled, are, for want of People, stockt with Sheep or Cattel, which was the Reason that in Queen Elizabeth's Days we read of one surly Boy in the North of Ireland, who had a Stock of Fifty Thousand Cattel to his own share. But in short, my humble Opinion of the Affairs of that Kingdom at present, is, First, as to the *Irish*, they are naturally a sawning, flattering People, they'll down upon their Knees to you at every turn; but they are rude, false, and of no Courage. As *D. Donnell* complain'd, when he came out of Spain with an Army to their assistance in Queen Elizabeth's Reign: Gave them but Encouragement, and then there's no People so insolent: So that as Slaves, there's no way to deal with them, but to whip them into good Manners; and yet many of the vulgar *Irish* have been abused in what they had, who thinking our Soldiers in the fault, they cut their Throats wherever they can get the upper hand. As to their Army, their Condition is not in some Respect much worse than it was before: For 1. Their Men have seen more Service, and understand the use of their Arms better, being made good Fire-men at *Limerick* and *Athlone*. 2. They are now in a much narrower compass, which is easier defended, and they may in a small time draw their whole Army to any corner, when we are disperd up and down, and cannot so easily be got together upon any sudden occasion: They have also most of the Passes upon the *Shannon* in their possession, which could not easily be taken from any but *Irishmen*. 3. They are very watchful and diligent, having always good Intelligence, which is the Life of any Action; and yet it's plain there is no such way to destroy the *Irish*, as to imploy some to ruine the rest, which they will certainly do their own Fathers for Money. But then after all this, they have a vast Crowd of People, and will not, nor cannot have convenient Subsistence for one half of them in a small time. And further, the *French* are retired, and it's to be supposed without design of returning: else they would not have gone away. Suppose therefore the *Irish* fortify all those Places in their possession, and have Arms and Ammunition, with whatever else is needful from *France*, yet all this will neither put Courage into them, to defend those Places, nor is it altogether in the power of *France* to supply them with necessary Provisions.

But, Secondly, As to our own Army, I doubt not but we have several that are indifferent whether the War be quickly at an end or not; for they find the *Irish* to be an easie sort of Enemy; and if the War were done here, they must expect hotter Service somewhere else. They look upon it however as an Enemies Country, which is the reason that great Spoils are made, and Outrages committed; nay, which is worst of all, no Distinction made of *Papist* or *Protestant*. This, it's to be fear'd, may bring a Famine; and then all Peoples Condition in that Kingdom will be very severe: For tho' there be Plenty enough in *England*, yet the People of *Ireland* being poor, no body will be at the pains to carry their Goods into a Country where there is nothing to be got in return of them.

And lastly, of
our own.

But then whatsoever pains the *Irish* take in fortifying their Towns, we take as much in carrying things to beat them out of them; for there is a vast quantity of Bombs of that largest size, with all things convenient for such a Design, daily brought to *Dublin*. And as to our Army, our Numbers are the same as last Year, (except Two Regiments that are broke:) they are also much healthfuller, and better acquainted both with the Country and their Arms; and to encourage us the more, the Parliament has granted His Majesty a considerable Fund to carry on the War, as also to Equip His Fleet, which we were in both defective last Summer. Besides, we have now at least Twelve thousand of the Militia in good order, either to defend our Garrisons behind us, or assist in our Army upon occasion; for one should think that there is no body so fit to fight for their own Country, or indeed to be entrusted with it, as those People whose Concern it is. And more than all this, we shall have a great many *Protestant Rapparees* from the North and other Places, that we can at least set against theirs; for the Northern People are most of them arm'd, either from our Men that died last Year, or by some means or other; so that I hope we shall have no want of Men.

If therefore we have a mind to retrieve our Losses, we must encourage such as do well, and reward them for their Valour and Conduct; but punish Offenders, though their Station be the greater. And as to the Arrears of the Army, they are not so very great as some People make them;
for

for though we have not had our Accounts stated for some time, yet we have still received Money upon Account, and the Soldiers have constantly been supplied with Bread and other Provisions. But it's usual with a great many, that when they can have no other Excuse for their Extravagancies, then they'll say, the King owes them so much; but say not a word of what they have received. And as to what the present *Irish* War both has cost, and is like to do, both as to Men and Money, it is not to be named with that in *Cromwell's* time, which any may see, that will but read *Burlace's* History: Nor can there be any Comparison between the present Government and that; for then both Law and Religion were trampled upon, but now they run in their due Channel.

But after all, the Reason why *Ireland* was not reduc'd last Year, was our late taking the Field; and the Occasion of that, was because the Affairs of the Army could not be put in a compleat Posture any sooner: For *England* has a long time been us'd to Peace and Ease, and therefore unprovided of those things that are absolutely necessary in time of War, which were to come from abroad. The King did as much as was possible in the time, as any who have seen the Country may know; for if *Ireland* were as well Peopled and Mann'd as the Soil it self will bear, it may defie all the World besides: You cannot see a Town or a small Castle, but where there's either a Bog or a River, or both; all Places being fortified as well by Nature as Art: And in War there's no doubt but time must be allow'd to regulate such Mistakes as may happen, since no Man is infallible in that Art. Nor was there a sufficient Fund of Money the Year past, to supply the real Necessities of so great a Work; which Inconveniency being now removed, a fair Conclusion may be rationally hop'd for.

As to the Charge of maintaining a competent Army there, when *Ireland* is reduced, the Country will nigh do that of it self, since the Customs in that part of the Kingdom now in our possession, amounted to Sixty seven thousand five hundred twenty six pound for the Six Months last past; and what must the whole Kingdom come to in Times of Peace and a settled Establishment? I have only this to add, That when our Armies go out to defie our Enemies, and yet at the same time in

in their Practice defie the Living God ; or if we should stay at home, and fast and pray for their good Success never so heartily ; yet God will neither hear us, nor help them, if we are negligent in our Duty towards him. If therefore we desire that our Armies and Fleets may make a considerable Figure in the World, let us not grudge at and censure every thing our Betters do, but be careful to do our Duty to God and Man, then after the enduring for a Season the Inconveniencies of War, we may hope to be happy in a lasting Peace. *Amen.*

FINIS.

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